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Fighters for Freedom

AUSTEN KENNEDY de BLOIS

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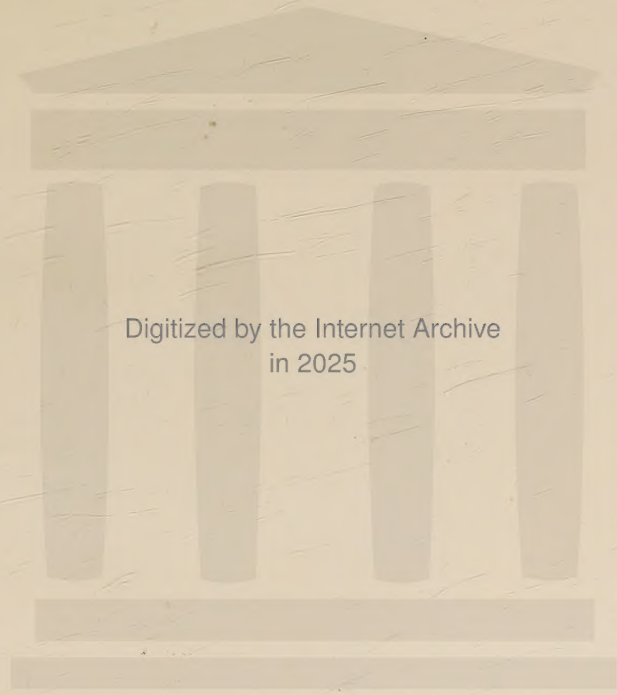
Fighters for Freedom

Austen Kennedy de Blois, a native of Nova Scotia, received his education in Acadia College, Brown University (A. M., 1888, Ph. D., 1889), at Newton Theological Institution, and the universities of Berlin and of Leipsig. He has been the recipient of honorary degrees (D. D., Brown University, 1914, and Acadia University, 1925; LL. D., Franklin College, 1897) in recognition of scholarship and of service as an educator and a minister of the gospel. He has been Principal of the Union Baptist Seminary in St. Martins, N. B., and President of Shurtleff College; and was pastor of the First Baptist Church of Chicago for eight years and of the First Baptist Church, Boston, for fifteen years. The Boston church built up during his pastorate a remarkable student work, reaching at times a regular enrolment of more than five hundred students, and surpassing any similar work in the city. He taught also for several years in Newton Theological Institution during his Boston pastorate, and has preached or lectured at more than fifty colleges and universities. He was editor of *The Watchman-Examiner* in New York for two years. He is the author of *Bible Study in American Colleges; The Pioneer School; Imperialism and Democracy; Life of John Mason Peck; The Message of Wisdom: Studies in the Book of Proverbs; Some Problems of the Modern Minister;* and *John Bunyan the Man.* He is now the President of the Eastern Theological Seminary in Philadelphia, Pa.



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ARNOLD OF BRESCIA

Herald of the Dawn

Fighters for Freedom

Heroes of the Baptist Challenge

By

AUSTEN KENNEDY DE BLOIS

Ph. D., D. D., LL. D.

President of The Eastern Theological Seminary

Endorsed by

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276 Fifth Avenue, New York City

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TO
THE MEMORY OF
MY MOTHER

FOREWORD

"The history of the world is the biography of great men." Surely the history of our Christian civilization is largely traceable through the life stories of those who, for conscience' sake, have fought for freedom's rights. This long struggle over centuries of time has achieved for us that liberty which is dearer than life. The biographies of an outstanding group of these stalwart champions of civil and religious freedom are here presented for the benefit of teachers and students interested in the history of the Christian centuries.

Christian folk everywhere will be glad to know that these studies are available in this biographical collection. Baptists in particular will appreciate the contribution which the author has made in perpetuating this record for future generations.

We commend this book to our adult and young people's groups, as a reading book of thrilling interest, and as a study book of rare value for classes, in local churches, assemblies, and conferences.

WILLIAM A. HILL,
Secretary of Missionary Education.

INTRODUCTION

This book has grown out of lectures and discussions, and is published on the petition of interested students.

As we followed together through an entire academic year a course in critical biography, it became more and more clear to us that the fundamental contentions of outstanding Baptist leaders were nourished by the passion for every form of honorable human freedom; and that, far more fully than in the case of any other religious group, the Baptist pioneers and pathfinders were advocates of a spiritual democracy. This, above all else, is the contribution that Baptists have made to the religious life and thought of the ages. They have been "Protestants of the Protestants," and "Reformers of the Reformers."

Spencer H. Cone has said that "among the few and scattered European voices for religious liberty, heard in the two hundred and fifty years from the day of Luther, the place of honor is undoubtedly to be accorded to the Anabaptists. Their doctrine is one of the most remarkable things which appeared in that wonderful age. It comes to speech with a clearness and fulness which suggests a revelation."

As in the Old World, so in the New. The Baptists were the founders of religious liberty in America.

In various colonies and afterward in different States of the Union, and in the making of the Constitution, these modern crusaders set the impress of their convictions upon the character of the nation's life, molding and fashioning the developing democracy of the Western world.

The spirit of this group of fearless fighters for freedom is primary; names are secondary. Whether they be called Anabaptists or Brethren, Moravians or Mennonites, matters little; their spirit and attitude are the same. They all belong to that royal brotherhood of freedom which binds them together in a sacred fellowship. Nor have national boundaries played any part in the struggle, for the conceptions of these men have been cosmopolitan rather than local. Arnold was an Italian, Waldo a Frenchman, Hübmaier a German, Menno a Hollander, and Smyth an Englishman; while Roger Williams and John Clarke were Americans through all their adult life and labors. But the principle that actuated their high endeavors did not vary. It was the Baptist principle, the zeal for human liberty and human rights, that drove them forward. They were breakers of chains and prophets of freedom.

Their historic demand has not been confined to matters of religion alone. The challenge broadens. There are four chief forms of democracy, political, social, educational, and religious. No state is truly democratic unless it possesses all of these in their fulness. Baptist leaders have been foremost in their advocacy of every one of these noble and interrelated principles. They have wrought

insistently for the freedom of the human soul in all of its relations.

For long generations they stood almost alone in their persistent, heroic, indefatigable defence of human rights and appeal for elemental justice. So we do not err in calling their bold contention for basic personal and social rights a courageous response to the Baptist challenge. They suffered every kind of deprivation and often a bitter persecution, but how incomparable have been the rewards and the victories. They sowed the seed that has produced a glorious harvest.

As I was in Europe while this book was passing through the press I was unable to give attention to matters connected with its publication. I wish to express my indebtedness to Dr. H. W. Barras for the exercise of his fine literary ability in the proof-reading of the entire volume; to Dr. W. A. Hill for his wise counsel and cooperation; and to Dr. D. G. Stevens for his scholarly and efficient assistance. The generous interest of these good friends has been of great value.

AUSTEN KENNEDY DE BLOIS

MAYFAIR HOUSE, LINCOLN DRIVE,
GERMANTOWN, PA.

SEPTEMBER 1, 1929.

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I

ARNOLD OF BRESCIA

Herald of the Dawn

ARNOLD OF BRESCIA: c. 1105–1155

I. Twelfth Century Forces:
   1. The papacy.
   2. The empire.
   3. The people.

II. Coming of the Heralds:
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   2. Arnold and Abelard:
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III. Life in Brescia:
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   4. Effect of the papal interdict.
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ARNOLD OF BRESCIA

Herald of the Dawn

The fifteen years between 1137 and 1152 are said to have witnessed greater disruption and disturbance in Italy than had ever been known before in all its checkered history. There were three contending parties in the midst of the confusion that reigned everywhere; the Papacy, the Empire, and the Roman people.

The Papacy was struggling to continue and enforce the amazing claim first openly made by Hildebrand in 1077, but which crystallized seven centuries of growing strength and developing autocracy. This claim asserted universal churchly absolutism. It really assumed, in its stark nakedness, that every sovereign on earth was the vassal of the Pope of Rome, and the Pope the Emperor of mankind. The Roman Church had never erred, nor could it err in any matter whatsoever. The Head of the Church can be judged by none. He can depose princes; he can do what he will; and all that he does is God's doing, and therefore right and just in every particular.

To this claim the successive Emperors of Germany, then the most powerful monarchs in all Europe, maintained a persistent denial, at times merely passive, at times active and militant. Henry IV held the title of King, yet this descendant of

Emperors had stood for four days in the cold outside the Castle of Canossa, waiting to be admitted to the presence of Hildebrand, the relentless and arrogant Pope, that he might sue upon bended knee for pity and forgiveness. Henry V, crowned as Emperor, and the son of this humiliated king, drove Pope Paschal II from Rome, and became the master of that city. So decade by decade the supreme authority swung from Pope to Emperor, from Emperor to Pope.

Apart from these two contending forces stood the people of Rome, and of other Italian cities, chiefly the Northern cities of Lombardy. They had become restless and aspiring. They desired liberty, while hardly understanding the true meaning of the term. They hated imperialism whether of Church or State. It was their valiant hope to restore to their land the Republican system of ancient days. In this ambition, inchoate yet persistent, they were aided by the intellectual awakening which was then beginning to free the minds of many in the world of thought.

The Papacy had shrewd prelates as leaders, the Empire had powerful princes. In each case these leaders were strengthened by the resources of wealth and prestige, and by the trained troops that waited upon their will. The people, however, lacked such important elements of strength. They were leaderless, and without a definite and unifying ideal. Their protests smoldered as an inactive and sullen mutiny against sacerdotal imperialism.

Then the leader appeared! About the year 1105 a

boy was born in the town of Brescia, who was destined to stir again the fires of liberty, so long suppressed. The centuries had been waiting for his coming; and though he died a helpless martyr to the cause of freedom, it required a combined attack of Emperor and Pope to still his voice by burning his body.

Arnold of Brescia was a man of dauntless courage and unyielding convictions. He comes before us first as a youth of noble ancestry, stern yet kindly, possessing a vigorous personality, and preaching the doctrines of priestly poverty and purity.

As yet his conceptions are vague. His energies, although tense and alert, are undisciplined by the harmonizing influence of a controlling purpose. Just at this critical time in the history of his maturing manhood he hears of the fame of Abelard, whose teaching has begun to awaken the dormant intellect of the age. Paris was far from Brescia in those days. Traveling was slow, uncertain, difficult, and dangerous. But the eager heart of the stalwart youth disdains impediments and perils, so he journeys out of Lombardy to sit at the feet of the great teacher.

Abelard was a notable figure, looming large in the life of his time. His intellectual genius and strange personal vicissitudes attracted a multitude of youthful pupils, while his rapierlike thrusts at some of the encrusted traditions of the Church brought him under the constant suspicion and surveillance of the hierarchy. He was suspected as a heretic while he was admired as a scholar.

For eight hundred years the darkness of superstition and ignorance had enveloped the countries of Europe. The clouds were now breaking. A few bold thinkers were challenging the dead formalism and stifling dogmatism of the Roman system. Abelard was one of the pioneers in the new movement. His fresh views of truth, as well as his valiant attacks upon the traditionalism of the standing order, drew to him many clear-visioned and virile students, some of them from the wealthy and noble classes.

The monastic system prevailed at this time throughout Christendom. During the Dark Ages all learning and education were found within the dim corridors and quiet cloisters of the monasteries. From them came the scholars and teachers of the Church. Submission, however, was the fixed law of their life; and the few who became original thinkers and interpreters of truth and life, did so in spite of their rigid discipline and not because of it.

In the twelfth century the number of these daring thinkers increased. Far beyond the walls of the monastic retreats they began to make their protests heard. The harsh and monotonous round of conventional duties could not quench their zest for religious adventure. These choicer spirits, imaginative and resourceful, refused to be enslaved by the mechanical routine.

The human mind was struggling for expression and expansion. Its first effort in this direction was incarnated in the teachings of a small group of able teachers, of whom Abelard was the most brilliant, and probably also the most profound. This whole

movement was met by a counter-attack on the part of the great St. Bernard and a swarm of lesser leaders. They delved deep in metaphysical speculations, met the menace of free and heterodox inquiry with subtle reasonings as well as with the voice of authority, and conquered for a time the peril involved in the free play of the human intellect. So arose the ponderous structure of scholastic theology as a powerful defense of the traditional faith of the Church.

A second movement grew within the solitude of the monasteries. It may be defined as a challenge to the entrenched autocracy of the entire sacerdotal system. It aimed at the overthrow of ecclesiasticism. It sought to destroy the temporal sway of the hierarchy. Its ideals were the deliverance of the Church from all entangling alliances with the secular powers; the release of its energies for distinctly spiritual offices; and the reinstatement of the primitive church order.

It is interesting to notice that the outstanding personalities in these two significant movements were closely associated for a time as teacher and pupil. Abelard was the apostle of intellectual liberty, while Arnold became the prophet of popular freedom and the irrepressible advocate of the restoration of spiritual values within the Church.

The teacher knew how to impart knowledge and enthusiasm; the scholar knew how to learn, and abundantly to profit by the learning he absorbed. The teacher had an attractive presence and a captivating manner of presentation. He was a sinewy

and very able thinker. He could teach as few could teach. He could awaken curiosity and love of learning in other minds. Unfortunately he was lacking in the strength of a redeemed will-energy. He was cautious. Now caution may be a virtue in a scholar, and most scholars, both ancient and modern, are sufficiently gifted with this virtue; but it fits ill with courage and it makes no heroes.

Abelard possessed a flashing wit and the gift of oratory. Besides this, and in spite of his spirit of vacillation, he had a zest for truth, and he sought to capture the white-winged bird whose beauty lured his dreams. Arnold learned from him to think vigorously, to prize freedom, and to bring rules and rites and ceremonies to the test of spiritual efficiency.

The teacher and the greatest of his pupils formed a singular antithesis. Abelard was elegant; Arnold was severe. Abelard retracted his opinions under papal threats; Arnold never retracted a syllable of his bold speech. Abelard was the most brilliant of the scholastics; Arnold cared little for scholastic philosophy or theology, except in so far as these could be translated into terms of throbbing life and stalwart service of mankind. Abelard was a stimulating guide in fascinating paths of speculation; Arnold was a daring pioneer in the ways of soul-liberty and spiritual enfranchisement.

Arnold was styled "the armor-bearer of the giant Abelard." In his battles for civil and religious liberty, however, he towered high above his former teacher. Both were revolutionaries, one in the world

of thought and the other in the world of action. Abelard promulgated a radical theology and a revolutionary philosophy; Arnold, revolving in his mind the new ways of thinking and the new intellectual attitudes which the eloquence of his master had awakened, set forth in vital terms the principles of a new and revolutionary scheme of human liberty.

Arnold returned to Brescia with an enlarged outlook on life. His notions of the infallibility of the Mother Church had undergone a startling transformation. Abelard had not shaken his faith in the underlying doctrines of the Church, but he had caused him to question the arbitrary rule of the clergy; and his pure spirit rebelled mightily against the unclean lives, the greedy grasping of riches, and the horrible assumption of authority over the bodies and souls of their fellow men, of which these false ecclesiastics were guilty.

What is finer than the enkindling ardor of a manly youth who has dedicated his life to the fearless expression of a great conviction?

He was now admitted to each of the two lowest grades of the priesthood, but he despised the prestige of churchly rank, and he never advanced his position from that of a humble " ordained reader " in the church. His austere habit of mind led him to take the religious vows and to enroll himself as a member of a monastic order. As a monk he endured privations and practised ascetic habits far more rigorously than most of the monks of his time. The monastic dress was economical and simple. It was quite in accord with his views of poverty and self-

sacrifice; and in this garb he followed the custom of begging from house to house.

But, like some other outstanding members of the monastic fraternities, he was infinitely more than a monk and an ascetic. His intense activity of mind and body could not brook the slothful ways of his fellows. He was by nature a reformer, agitator, prophet. He belonged of right to the passionate and energetic molders of human souls and leaders of the human struggle.

Brescia was a city famous for its independent and valorous spirit. An ardor for democratic self-government had long possessed its people. Like other cities in the North of Italy, it became a small republic, repudiating the sway of the German Emperor. A free municipal rule was established, consuls were appointed, and the condition of the lower classes was improved. Into this plan Bishop Arimanno, Rome's representative at Brescia, entered with vigor and stout leadership. He saw the opportunity to throw off the yoke of Empire, which at times had been alike oppressive to the people and threatening to the power of the Papacy.

Soon after the articles of freedom were put into effect, however, this benign Bishop proceeded to claim for Rome the sovereignty that had been wrested from the Empire. He became a regular feudal lord, and usurped the privileges of final and complete authority. This was too much for the people to bear. They saw that their successful, brave effort, aided by the gracious Bishop, to break the chain of imperial rule had resulted only in the

forging of a heavier chain to bind them to the papal chair. So they rose in revolt and, after sundry bloody battles, banished the Bishop and again declared their independence. Paschal, the shrewd old Pope, had the wit to depose Arimanno and to appoint Conrad, who had been his coadjutor, to the Episcopal see. Conrad also had his troubles and in his turn was deposed, and Manfred was appointed in his stead, only to be shortly dismissed in favor of the Pope's special representative. All of these men were ambitious and autocratic, and they lived in the style of princes.

Into this turmoil Arnold entered, on his arrival in his old home town. The legate from Rome was working overtime to secure for the Papacy the temporal sovereignty in this and other cities of Lombardy. His words were specious. Rome, he declared, was a friend of true liberty. Rome sympathized deeply with their assertions of independence. Rome rejoiced that the galling fetters of foreign and imperial control has been cast aside. Rome desired now to protect the infant republic. Let the citizens commit their ways unto the pope and the pope would direct their footsteps prosperously.

Arnold was quick to detect the thinly-veiled hypocrisy that lay in these irenic statements. He forthwith attacked the wolf in sheep's clothing. Moving on a high plane of moral and religious truth he spoke with Divine authority concerning fundamental principles. Four immortal and basic elements of Baptist faith he set forth clearly. The

exact teaching of Scripture must be faithfully followed. The hierarchical church must shed her glories and luxuries and return to the simplicities and purities of the primitive apostolic church. The true church is a regenerate and spiritual church. There must be no union of Church and State. With deep devotion he entered upon his lifelong protest. Although Arnold was not anathematized as a heretic but as a schismatic, his attitude and speech were as radical, heretical, and uncompromising as those of any great Anabaptist leader of the sixteenth century. He was indeed a Herald of the Dawn!

His very presence was magnetic. He possessed that sense of reserve energy which in itself will captivate a crowd. In person he was tall and well formed. His features, classic and ascetic, at once drew the attention of his auditors. The fires of a fanatic zeal flashed from his eyes, yet his commanding intellect and controlled will restrained him from the vagaries and rantings of the untempered enthusiast. We are told that his eloquence was singularly sweet, copious, and flowing, but at the same time vigorous and awakening, sharp as a sword and smooth as oil.

His own life was singularly pure. His soul's strength was devoted to the interests of humanity. His brain functioned quickly and accurately. He brought the logic of facts to bear upon every question that he touched. Not in vain had he studied the sinister pages of the Church's history. He knew whereof he spoke.

In Brescia and throughout Lombardy his influence

spread in waves of piercing light. His words could not be twisted or misunderstood; he was never vague or visionary. His message took this form: Free yourselves from the meddling of the bishops and priests. They are living lives of ease and splendor. They are claiming from you that to which they have no right. The Church is spiritual. It has no business to assume any sort of temporal rule. Where it becomes secular it becomes apostate. The apostles were poor, self-denying, simple, devoutly spiritual. They lived clean lives. Your clergy are rich, self-seeking, luxurious, worldly. Too many of them, as you know full well, live lives of lechery. They are not true followers of the apostles. They are false teachers.

Thus Arnold exposed error; but he also exhorted; he called for action. Exercise your rights as citizens of a free republic. Force your clergy to forsake their secular state. Compel them to give up their property; dispossess them of their ill-gotten gains. If they shall humble themselves and become obedient unto Christ, honor them in all spiritual things: but forever deny to them and to the Church every jot and tittle of secular authority.

Arnold was thoroughly honest and desperately in earnest. So he could not shape his sentences to suit the interests of policy or personal safety. It was reported of him that he used the same hot words of censure in his denunciation of the Pope, the lordly chief of Christendom, that he employed in his exposure of the greed and gluttony of the humblest orders of the priesthood.

It is difficult to imagine the sublimity of such a stand for truth. He dared the overwhelming and ruthless authority of pope and cardinals and bishops and priests. He accused the princes of the Church who had craftily acquired great possessions. He attacked the massed powers of an organization that had brought kings and emperors to their knees. He dared all things that he might help to bring the spirit of the New Testament into the world once more. He spoke to Brescia, but he spoke also to all Lombardy, to Europe, to the world of his day, and to future generations.

In the person of Arnold we behold a twelfth-century John the Baptist, raging inwardly with horror against sin, assailing the Pharisees in their high places, hurling his weapons against the bulwarks and buttresses of an entrenched officialdom, pleading for light and truth and the New Freedom. He was clean and right-living. Straightforward by nature, and early baptized into the spirit of a sacrificial devotion, his words were clear-cut and inwrought with the passion of a great soul.

The contrast between this man and the swarms of Roman priests who infested Europe, is startling. They were rapacious in their greed; he coveted no man's goods. They were crafty in their pursuit of riches and emoluments; his rugged honesty of character craved not place nor preferment, but only a chance to do God's will by living the life of truth. They accepted the wages of deceit and sold the favors of the Church for gain; he abhorred simony, the barter and sale of indulgences, and all ecclesias-

tical chicanery, and no bribes ever clung to his fingers. They practised all manner of iniquities; his life was so crystalline in its purity that even the bitterest of his foes dared not utter a single word of calumny against his character. They schemed for self-advancement; he lived for others. They were men of the world; he was a man of God.

Amongst the lowlier orders of the priesthood there were many good men. In some of the monasteries the rules of a rigorous self-denial were practised; though in others, and in most of them in Arnold's day, the pretense of asceticism was a cloak for every sort of vice, and the places of fasting and prayer were in reality hot-beds of loathsome debauchery.

It was the era of the Crusades. The armies of the faithful, attended by hordes of profligates, thieves, and renegades, were following the gleaming banners of the Red Cross to the Holy Land. But a more practical and pressing need lay nearer home. There was a call for a crusader, in the name of purity and poverty, amongst the clergy of the church in every land. The voice of Arnold of Brescia was the first to be lifted, in resonant and mighty protest against the ill-gotten wealth and bestial self-indulgence of the Roman Catholic clergy of the time. Against the two prevalent sins of avarice and luxury he thundered his anathema.

This man who spoke always with conviction was essentially a man of one book—the Bible. He founded his beliefs and his protests upon the words of Scripture alone. He took the position, amazing in the age in which he lived, that the authority of

Scripture was of greater value than the customs of the Church, and even than its body of tradition, so highly prized and so shrewdly used in the interests of priestly autocracy.

A quarter of a century before the birth of Arnold, Gregory VII, better known as Hildebrand, had condemned the use of the Scriptures in the language of the people. This first interdict was followed by others. It was found that when common folks, who had no right to think for themselves, began to read the Bible and ponder its teachings, they became skeptical as to the way of the Roman Church. They contrasted the sublime simplicities of the early church with the ceremonial extravaganzas of the Papacy, and drew their own conclusions.

So the Roman magnates, subtle in their worldly wisdom, set out to do three things—and did them. They discouraged all reading of the Scriptures on the part of the people; they carefully censored every translation of the Bible that was made; and they gradually subordinated the authority of the Book to that of the Church.

In spite of these tendencies, containing secret threats, Arnold went straight to the letter and spirit of Scripture for his instruction. He did not hesitate to exhibit, in vivid fashion, the striking contrast between the primitive church and the church of his own day. This seemed to the pampered prelates in their palaces a very discourteous and treasonable attitude. But with Arnold heavier and more important interests than politeness and diplomacy had the right of way. He went even farther. He be-

came definitely personal. He proceeded to contrast the lives and habits of the apostles with those of individual prelates.

Of course the people followed him; they had found a worth-while leader, or rather God had provided them with one. Of course the hierarchy hated him; a righteous God had anointed and sent forth a prophet of judgment for their condemnation. The people were ready for action. A revolution against the secular authority of the Church, such as no city or state had ever known, was instantly impending. In this struggle, nearly all of the cities of Northern Italy would have joined. It was a perilous hour for the Papacy.

The crisis was averted by a master stroke of policy. In the year 1139 the Bishop of Brescia, who had been the papal legate, backed by the entire clerical body, the monasteries, and such of the higher nobles as craved the favor of Rome, appealed to the Pope for immediate intervention. Innocent II was then presiding at the Council of the Lateran, and before that august tribunal Arnold was summoned. He had not severed his connection with the Church, for he believed in its reform rather than its repudiation or extinction; so he journeyed forthwith to the City on the Seven Hills.

The Bishop of Brescia and the more prominent clergy were present with their accusations. The Council was a magnificent affair. Majestic in pomp, impressive in dignity and stateliness, it exhibited all the royal splendor that the stern voice of Arnold had condemned. Besides the Pope the higher orders

of the clergy were represented in their gorgeous robes of many colors. Innocent II had recently been placed upon the papal throne, with the unanimous approval of all the kings and princes of the so-called Christian world. To question any word of this dazzling potentate would surely be an act of unequaled boldness. Yet that was exactly what Arnold of Brescia had done. And he had done much more than that to disturb the soft self-satisfaction of this most grave and reverend assembly. Alone, utterly alone in the face of his judges, stood the intrepid monk of Lombardy.

Dressed in his monkish garb of coarse stuff, with girdle and cowl, he was nevertheless a fascinating figure, as he stood, with head erect, fearless and challenging in his aspect. The prelates dealt with him very decisively. They sealed his lips and ordered his footsteps. He was condemned to silence, and banished from Brescia and Italy. He was forbidden ever to return, except by the express permission of the Pope, and such permission was never likely to be given.

Whither now should Arnold go? He seems to have entertained no slightest thought of obedience to the order enforcing silence. He would speak, and speak as plainly as before—but where? His thoughts naturally turned to the scenes of his student life. So he set forth on his second journey to France. Again he came under the influence of Abelard, and soon returned to his former style of preaching. In that land he might have continued permanently, had he not incurred the violent dislike

of Bernard of Clairvaux, a prelate of vast influence and possessed of a spirit of bitter intolerance against every form of heresy and of schism. The minions of Bernard reported to him the sayings and doings of the fiery iconoclast, so he was forced out of France. To escape prison he fled to Zurich.

Bernard was by no means satisfied. His prey had for the moment evaded his clutching fingers, but he tracked him to Switzerland. He wrote to the Bishop of Constance, warning him to rid himself and the church of this pestilential fellow. The Swiss Bishop was more lenient than his brother of Clairvaux, so Arnold was allowed to continue his work, which at first was chiefly that of a teacher.

For a little time the pulpit was exchanged for the desk, preaching for teaching, the thunderous appeal to the multitude for the peaceful address to the student group. Arnold was not by nature a teacher. His gifts were dynamic and inspirational rather than restrained and scholarly. He influenced his pupils by his zeal for truth in action; he had not the patience to persuade them into the sturdy and diligent search for truth's hiding-places and secret treasuries of riches.

The preaching function, however, soon took its place again as the vital center of his ministry. Considering the opinions which he held and the intensity with which he held them, it would have been impossible for Arnold to keep silence. Both the Bishop of Constance and the papal legate, Guido di Castello, afterwards Pope Celestine II, were strongly influenced by his words, and extended to him such

favor as he had not known before in his relations with the representatives of Rome.

He was allowed a measure of freedom and availed himself of the precious opportunity. He exercised his public ministry to such effect that the Swiss people listened with thoughtful attention to his message. Zurich was a free city, and its citizens were at heart a very sensible and open-minded folk, so the lessons of the reformer sank deep into their hearts. It may be said with truth that those early teachings of Arnold laid the foundations of that zeal for liberty which has characterized the dwellers in the Swiss cantons for centuries past.

Guido, the Pope's legate, a man of gentle and noble character, continued his protection of Arnold. They had been fellow students in the lecture-room of Abelard many years before. Guido had learned the lesson of kindliness of attitude toward the opinions and convictions of his fellows. But the wrath of Bernard was relentless. He wrote and agitated against the dangerous schismatic. He desired that the man he hounded might have peace nowhere upon earth. He was the perfect type of the avenging persecutor. Having found, through his spies, the place in which his quarry had taken refuge he wrote to Guido as follows:

> Arnold of Brescia, whose words are as honey but whose acts are poison, whom Brescia cast forth, at whom Rome shuddered, whom France has banished, whom Germany will soon hold in abomination, whom Italy will not endure, is reported to be with you. Either you know not the man, or hope to convert him. May this be so, but beware of the fatal infec-

tion of heresy; he who consorts with the suspected becomes liable to suspicion; he who favors one under papal excommunication contravenes the Pope, and even the Lord God himself.

This was one of the earliest of Bernard's scorching letters. Worse ones followed. The sentences here are fiery enough, considering the fact that he, although only a bishop, was writing to the Pope's special representative, and had no right to use language which verges on the abusive. To the bewildered Bishop of Constance he addressed himself in a style even more vehement and vicious.

Arnold was pictured as the creator of sedition. Arnold was the fomenter of turmoil and rebellion. Arnold was an agitator of foul plots against the clergy, the elect of God. Arnold had proved himself to be the arch-chieftain of horrid schism; his mouth was full of blasphemy; he was an enemy of the Cross of Christ. Bernard bade the Bishop to lay hold upon this cursed fomenter of discord and all evils, and to imprison him securely where he could do no harm. But the good Bishop went on his way, unheeding; and the papal legate held his peace.

So for five years the good work continued. Then the persistent persecution by Bernard resulted in Arnold's exile. His various expulsions were due to the decrees of different powers and interests. He had been expelled from Italy by the Lateran Council. During his stay in France he had been condemned to silence and to the seclusion of a monastery by Pope Innocent II. He had been finally banished from France by an edict of the King at the

behest of Bernard. He was now driven from Switzerland by no formal act of condemnation, but by the hostile attack of Bernard, at that time and for a period of forty years the most powerful ecclesiastic in all Europe.

So Popes and Councils and Bishops and Kings set themselves in array against him; yet he quailed not before their wrath; he failed not in the deliverance of his mighty message; he feared not man nor devil; he asked no favors, he gave no quarter; the accents of his voice resounded from the Imperial City to the mountains of Gaul, and from Spain to India.

We follow his footsteps with wondering eyes, with bated breath. Can he find a home henceforth in any land beneath the sky? We are not left long in uncertainty. In the spirit of a dauntless courage he steers his course toward Rome itself. There he finds his life's great opportunity. His career in that city forms one of the most dramatic scenes in history. Quite alone in his leadership he arouses the people, inspires them with something of his own zeal for democracy, and before the end comes, he has shaken the pillars of hierarchical assumption and threatened its demolition.

It has been said by an astute historian that "the trumpet of Roman liberty was first sounded by Arnold of Brescia." He always traveled with his eyes open. When he reached Rome he studied the condition of the people and observed the lordly pretensions of the cardinals and priests. He found the people ground between the upper and nether mill-

stones of imperial and papal absolutism. He discerned their restlessness and sympathized with their ambitions. He entered heartily into their protest for liberty and speedily became a popular leader of wide influence. His experiences in the sturdy little city of Brescia began to be repeated on a grander scale in the world's metropolis.

In two sentences we may express the burden of his message. To the priests he said, "Christ's Kingdom is not of this world," and to the people, "Reject the civil authority of the Pope and the false rule of an alien Emperor, and restore the liberties of the ancient Republic." Thus, although his own life and his essential purpose looked toward the purification of the Church, he necessarily became involved in political action.

For nearly eleven years he labored in Rome for the cause of freedom, and directed the destinies of its people. His addresses held a fivefold message. He denounced the corruption of the clergy; he pleaded for a spiritual and regenerate church; he advocated the abandonment of useless forms and ceremonies; he sought the complete disseverance of Church and State; and he wrought tremendously in behalf of social freedom and the democratization of the city and nation.

Realizing that his great chance had come, and sensible of the weighty obligation which rested upon him, he denounced the lives and habits of the clergy in uncompromising terms, as he had done in other lands. He now attacked the evils of the church at its headquarters. The fact that so much earthly

pride and aggrandizement surrounded him on every hand did not affright his zeal, but rather increased the scathing severity of his judgments.

Ceaselessly he hurled his uncompromising alternatives in the ears of the priests: Dismiss your luxuries or lose your souls; abandon secular pretensions or sink into criminal apostasy. His denunciations were not merely negative. His vision of a redeemed and spiritual church, such as that of which the early saints and martyrs were the founders, was always present in his soul.

All that was formal and ceremonial rather than vital and real he abhorred. For that reason he seems to have repudiated the rite of infant baptism as a meaningless form, and the doctrine of transubstantiation as a superstition. Otto, Bishop of Freisingen, a contemporary of Arnold, and described by an eminent church historian as "one of the best-informed and most judicial" writers of his time, tells us that besides his demands for religious and political reform, "he is said to have been as strong with reference to the sacrament of the altar and the baptism of infants." Durandus definitely confirms the statement of Otto. Such condemnation of the practise of infant baptism was in accord with Arnold's appeals for a regenerate church.

His political view-point was closely associated with his religious protest. At the beginning of his public ministry in Brescia he had stated his principles in this form: "Every city should constitute an independent State, in whose government no bishop ought to have the right to interfere. The Church

should not possess any temporal dominion whatsoever. The priests should be content to enjoy the tithes of nature, remaining excluded from every temporal authority." This was the burden of his preaching also in the years that followed, and this doctrine he proclaimed in the city of Rome.

The people of the city, conscious of the reasonableness of these views, and impressed by the arousing impact of his appeal, naturally expected Arnold to outline a plan of campaign and lead them in its execution. Since they were to divorce themselves from the rule of the present pope and from that of the distant emperor, and become a free State, what should be their method of procedure? The answer was at hand: Let the people assert their inalienable rights as citizens. Let them rise in a body and exercise their powers of self-government. Let them strip the ecclesiastics of their false meddling in secular affairs, and place them, in all their temporal relationships, under the control of the civil power. Let them establish a republic, modeled after that of ancient Rome, and form a senate to rule all secular affairs.

This was exactly what the people did. It is one thing to exhort with earnestness in the name of an ideal; it is quite another thing, and usually a more difficult one, to outline a definite program and carry it into effect. In this case, one followed the other with smoothness and logic. The new master of Rome proceeded promptly in his effort to transform the government into the ideal of his dreams, a great Christian republic ruled by a popular assembly.

The Romans felt no particular interest in Arnold's religious aspirations. So far as the reform of the Church was concerned they were indifferent. But they at once became definitely enlisted in the political scheme which had grown out of his general plan. It appealed to their love of liberty. It accorded with their ambitions for the reassertion of the rights of a Roman republic, and with their partially formed ideals for the extension of the rule of a new régime to the very ends of the earth. They also eagerly desired a radical emancipation from the galling yoke of the papacy.

The supreme direction of civil affairs was centered in a Senate, and the great mass of the people, together with many members of the secular nobility, joined in an enthusiastic support of the new order. Innocent II had recently died. He was succeeded by Guido, who had befriended Arnold; and it was undoubtedly due in great measure to this fact that the latter took his journey to Rome. Before he reached there, Guido, enthroned as Pope Celestine II, had also died, after a brief six months as the head of the church. His successor was Lucius II.

Under the new Pope the agitation quickened. The temporary quiet enjoined by the wise precepts of Celestine was soon dissipated, and the Roman people utterly refused all obedience to the Papacy, except in matters of spiritual guidance. A league in opposition to priestly authority was formed; and the commandment of Christ was made a rallying cry: "Render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's,

and unto God the things that are God's." Peter must pay tribute to Cæsar!

Giordano was chosen Patrician of Rome—an ancient title—by the hearty acclamation of senate and people. The rebellious citizens destroyed many of the fortified castles of the cardinals where they had dwelt in the manner of feudal chiefs, living in ostentatious luxury. The nobles who espoused the cause of the church were also driven from their palaces. At this juncture the Pope took extraordinary measures. He called to arms his pontifical party, and announced that he would lead them personally into battle. The issue between the autocrats and the democrats was fairly joined. Priests and nobles were resolute and hopeful; but on February 25, 1145, the Pope was slain by a stone hurled at him by a republican soldier. He died at the head of his command.

Three popes had gone within seventeen months, and an antipope had been elected in the midst of the confusion. Now a fourth (or fifth, if we include the antipope) was chosen in the person of a feeble old man regarded as almost an imbecile, Bernard of Pisa. He was crowned as Eugenius III. The real Pope, the power behind the papal throne, was still Bernard of Clairvaux, who wrote very bluntly to say, in congratulating the new pontiff, "In electing you they made me Pope, not you," and added, with biting irony, "How will a man with the simplicity of a child cope with affairs which require the strength of a giant?"

Eugenius soon fled from the city; then gathering strength for his cause in a place of safe retirement,

he reentered Rome, and once more declared the supreme power of the papacy. Within three months he was off again, fleeing incontinently from the scene of uproar, and Arnold was uncontested master of the situation. For the seven ensuing years he held almost undisputed sway.

It is not necessary to follow the varying fortunes of the contest for freedom. It was not priestly victories but every-day selfishness and greed that weakened the challenging party and brought the republic to an end. Gradually the people came to long for the gorgeous displays, the pride and pomp, of papal authority; they reacted against the Spartan simplicity of Arnold and his followers.

No longer was Rome the light and eye of the world. No longer did picturesque pilgrimages delight the populace. The wealth of the nations was withheld. Trade languished. The glory of Ichabod had departed. So the sinews of virility waxed feeble, and the people longed for the fleshpots again.

Now two powerful new personalities appeared. Frederick Barbarossa, perhaps the greatest monarch Europe had known since Charlemagne, was crowned as Emperor of Germany; and Hadrian IV, an astute and learned prelate, mounted the papal throne. Their united strength caused the overthrow of Arnold of Brescia.

Nicholas Breakspeare, once a slum child in London, and the only Englishman who has ever been honored by elevation to the papal chair, rose from rank to rank, and at last in 1155 was established in the seat of St. Peter, as Hadrian IV.

A man of pure life, stout will, and unquestioned ability, he proceeded first of all to deal with the rebels in the Capital. The Senate refused to recognize his authority; he refused to recognize their authority. They demanded his recognition of their supremacy in all secular matters; he disdained to give any reply. Then he took the initiative and decreed the banishment of Arnold, who firmly denied his right to issue such an edict.

Just at that critical time a cardinal was mortally wounded in a tumult of the citizens while on his way to call upon the Pope. Instantly Hadrian placed the ban of the papal interdict upon the city. It was the first time in history that such a bold line of action had been taken. The churches were closed. All religious ceremonies ceased. The functions of the clergy were suspended. The papal censure had a terrifying effect.

Events moved very rapidly. Superstition triumphed over freedom. Scared and subdued, the Roman Senate yielded its rights. The Pope was adamant in his demands. The Republic must come to an end; Arnold must be permanently banished; the priestly potentates, headed by the Bishop of Rome, the Pope himself, must be given absolute authority in Church and State. The people, now of many minds and utterly confused, agreed to everything. So perished the dream and the struggle. So Arnold came at last to the end of his resources. The Senate, at the command of Hadrian, swore to expel Arnold and his followers from the city: and on this condition the unique interdict was removed. The Vis-

count of Campiglia, a powerful baron and a warm friend of Arnold, conveyed him, still free in spirit and still defiant, to his fortified castle.

Then Frederick Barbarossa swept down with his army through Lombardy toward Rome. Everybody began sending messages. The Senate showed a temporary burst of courage, sending a petition to Frederick, imploring him to restore their autonomy and to free them from clerical rule. The Pope as a "feeler" sent to Frederick, asking his aid in bringing Arnold to justice and condemning him to death. The message crossed another from Frederick, asking the Pope to arrange for his imperial coronation at Rome. Frederick returned a message to the Senate, informing them that they were his subjects and he their lord; how dare they try to wrest the scepter from Hercules?

The Pope at first refused to crown Frederick as Emperor unless he would consent to humiliate himself by holding the stirrup of his horse, a custom enforced on many occasions. Frederick refused. So the Pope refused him the kiss of peace. The affairs of courts and empires hung upon the nice questions of a stirrup and a kiss. However, Frederick finally yielded the point, and the coronation took place.

Frederick was well aware of the peril of Arnold's presence in the vicinity, so he sent his soldiers to capture him. They failed to find him, and seized instead the baron who had sheltered and shielded him, holding him as a hostage. It was a life for a life, so Arnold at once surrendered that his friend might go free.

It is interesting to notice that the first request of the Pope from the new Emperor was that the heretic should be delivered to the prefect of the city for punishment. This request was granted. Swift measures were now necessary. The people in spite of their occasional vacillations under papal pressure, dearly loved their leader. To them he was both patriot and prophet. They might quickly raise an insurrection. So Arnold was immediately brought to trial. He was tried as a priest in holy orders, although he was an excommunicated rebel. This device was introduced in order to hurry his execution.

He was condemned to death. It had always been customary to call upon a secular officer to slay those who had been sentenced by the spiritual lords. In this case, so great was the haste of the moment that an officer of the Church performed the horrid deed. The blood of Arnold of Brescia rests upon the Roman Church. He was offered pardon if he would recant his heresies and return to the bosom of the Church. This, without a moment of hesitation, he refused to do, declaring that his conscience was clear before God and his own soul.

When he came to the place of execution he fell upon his knees in prayer. He went to his death with a holy boldness. After he had been hanged by decree of the Church his body was burned and his ashes strewed along the waters of the Tiber. Why this additional act of savagery? We are told very definitely that the Pope and prelates feared that if his body should be buried his grave would become a sacred shrine for pilgrim hosts, and that the spirit

of revolution might take possession of the people who thus gathered to do honor to his memory.

So perished the great warrior saint. A chaste and noble monument has been erected to his name in modern times by his native city of Brescia. Its grandeur symbolizes the magnitude of his service to humanity. It commemorates his thirty years' warfare in the cause of freedom of conscience, a spiritual church, and the separation of the things of Cæsar from the things of God.

II

PETER WALDO

Apostle of Simplicity

PETER WALDO: c. 1120—c. 1216

I. Romanists and Reformers:
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   2. Protesting leaders and groups.
   3. The Waldensian Movement.

II. Peter Waldo's Advent:
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III. Peter Waldo the Christian:
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After many centuries of growing strength and broadening influence, the Roman Catholic Church became bloated with power and cynical in its arrogance, while a large proportion of its priesthood was saturated with worldliness and sensuality. Then began the era of dissent and rebellion. Then began also the era of the bloody Inquisition. There were a few lonely reformers, the chief of whom was Arnold of Brescia, who had uttered their protest, but their voices were speedily hushed and their weapons broken.

Arnold and his comrades, however, had spoken loudly and strongly enough to be heard across the years and throughout the countries of Europe. Heresy was rearing its head in many places. There was a fourfold defiance. These new bodies of dissenters dared to deny certain doctrines of the church; to condemn unsparingly the morals of the loose-living clergy; to question the value of the elaborate ritual and ceremonies, together with the worship of the Cross and sacred images; and to defy the intricate organization of the hierarchy.

The people everywhere were demanding a simple faith, a spiritual message, and a teaching that should be natural, ethical, and apostolic. Leaders began to appear here and there, and associations were

formed. Though they differed in attitude and emphasis, they were moved by a common and unifying purpose, the determination to be bound no longer by the autocratic rule of an organization ostensibly and quite ostentatiously religious which had become both artificial and corrupt.

They longed for freedom. They refused to bear the yoke of a church that they had come to doubt and despise. So from the middle of the twelfth century their numbers grew rapidly. In the code of Frederick II, issued in 1238, nineteen different sects are named; and several of the most flourishing, such as the Arnoldists and the Waldenses, are not mentioned in this enumeration. One writer of the period states that there were seventy-two different groups, and another that there were altogether one hundred and thirty. The most important of them all, and the only one that has survived to our own time, was that of the Waldenses; and their doctrinal position and essential principles, especially in their earlier history, were strikingly similar to those of the Baptists of later times.

The story of the beginnings of the Waldensian movement is interesting. The progress of that glorious company of people, freeing themselves completely from the slavery of Romish ideas and dominance, forms an inspiring chapter in the history of Christianity. The personality of the founder is strikingly human and charming because of its thoroughly wholesome and friendly character. The conversion of Peter Waldo was a great event in the religious history of the Middle Ages.

Is it possible for a middle-aged man of fixed habits, immersed in business, to turn suddenly into the ways of self-renunciation and give all his goods to God? The case is possible, but not probable. It is possible, for with God all things are possible. The rich ruler who went away sorrowful failed to meet Christ's test, even although he was still young in years. This same test that was put to the young ruler, and in which he failed dismally, was put to a rich man of Lyons, a merchant of mature years, and he accepted the challenge, with splendid and far-reaching results.

Peter Waldo, or Valdez, familiarly known in later days as "Peter of the Valley," was born in the village of Vaux, on the banks of the river Rhone, about the year 1120. As a young man he came to Lyons, an important city then as now, hoping to earn a fortune. His thrift, ability, and foresight brought him in time to a place of ease and great prosperity. He became a well-known and wealthy merchant, an excellent church-goer, a respected citizen, a reputable man of the world; and that was about all. To the larger sympathies and the broader enrichments of the spiritual life he was entirely a stranger. He followed the commonplace path of a stodgy and prosperous good man, akin in his narrow ambitions and dull conventions to many another good and uninteresting man. It was said of him that his methods were keen and ruthless, as are the methods of too many men whom the world applauds as masterful and successful.

Then came the awakening. Three incidents, oc-

curring within a short period of time, wrought a complete change in the outlook of this easy-going individual. The death of a friend, a song in the city street, and the homely words of a priest were the determining factors in the transformation of his life.

As a prominent merchant, with an interesting family consisting of a wife and two daughters, he naturally mingled freely in the social life of the city. On a certain evening, while enjoying the gaieties of a feast, a friend, suddenly smitten by disease, fell dead at his side. This solemn event startled him into unwonted seriousness, and he began to consider deeper questions than any to which he had previously given thought. "Suppose," he found himself saying constantly, "that this sudden stroke had come upon me instead of my neighbor, what would have become of my soul? Would I have gone to heaven or to hell?" When a man of nearly fifty years of age begins to ponder in this way things are apt to happen. Here was no emotional youth but a man of advanced maturity, considering with full energy of will the most important question in the universe.

Soon afterward his feelings were moved yet more profoundly by hearing a troubadour sing in the street a memorial song commemorating the death of Saint Alexis. The tones were so vibrant, the words so thrilling and impressive, that he sought out the singer and took him to his own home, that he might talk with him, and hear again and again the message of the song.

The tale that it embodied was one fitted to capture the imagination of a thoughtful man. Vividly and in tragic tones it told of the young man Alexis, born of rich parents and with every prospect of a full and joyous life. He married a fair bride; but, impressed by the claims of a celibate life upon one who would devote himself to God, he left his young wife, and went on a holy pilgrimage to the East, suffering evil of every sort on his journey. Returning at last to his home he asked shelter and food from his relatives, being in poverty and despair. They failed to recognize him and spurned him from their doors. Shortly afterward they found him dead. The facts of the emptiness of life, its anguish and distress, its brevity and swift termination, and the supreme importance of an instant readiness to face the issues of the world beyond the grave, were the burden of the song.

These circumstances brought home to Waldo the uncertainty of human life and the need of preparation for the future. So he visited a worthy clerical adviser with the eager question, "How may I win my way to heaven?" The reply was at first indefinite: "There are many ways to heaven." The anxious listener was not satisfied. He asked to be shown the surest route, the straight path, the perfect way. So, knowing Peter Waldo's wealth and prosperity, the priest was daring enough to quote to him the well-known words of Christ, "If thou wouldst be perfect, sell all that thou hast, and give to the poor."

To strip oneself of all one's hard-earned riches,

and to scatter the spoils of a lifetime amongst the deserving and the undeserving poor, has always seemed to men of Peter Waldo's type an extreme and insane means of action. But the man of Lyons did not hesitate. He straightway settled up his various lines of business and paid his outstanding obligations. This left him with an enviable estate of large dimensions. His wife, who thought that he had suddenly developed eccentric and unnatural tendencies, objected strenuously to the whole proceeding, but his decision had been made. His wife did not suffer. He was eminently fair in his treatment of his distressed helpmeet. He offered her the choice between his personal property, consisting of sound investments, ready money, and his business interests; and his real estate, including "houses, meadows, vineyards, woods, bake-houses and mills." She chose, quite wisely, the latter, and subsisted comfortably upon the large returns which accrued to her.

He was very thoughtful of his dear ones; he was no wild-eyed fanatic, but a far-seeing and most sensible man of affairs. He settled a dowry upon each of his two daughters, and sent them for the completion of their education to the Abbey of Fontevraud, a convent-school. A large part of his possessions still remained in his hands. Of all this he proceeded to rid himself completely, in accordance with his Lord's command.

He used practical common-sense methods, for he was a practical and common-sense man. He followed three lines of activity. The first was that of

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direct action. Three times in each week he appeared in the public square and personally supervised the distribution of provisions and clothing to those who were needy. Many a starving family was relieved, many hopeless ones were helped on the way to a fresh start in life, by his loving care for their necessities. The shrewd merchant had become a wise philanthropist.

In the second place, he realized the profound ignorance of the people in spiritual matters. They had no opportunity to read the Scriptures in their own tongue. The common people, who once heard Christ gladly, had now no chance to hear his blessed voice at all. To remedy this shocking evil, existing in a land of priests and churches, Peter employed two learned men to make a translation of the Gospels, portions of the Epistles, and extracts from the writings of the Church Fathers, from the Latin into the Romance dialect. So, by a single generous act he opened to the entire population the gates of spiritual plenitude.

Living now in the most frugal fashion, and adopting with success the plan of lay preaching, he gathered about him a group of friends whom he sent forth as associates. The balance of his fortune he devoted to this enterprise. Herein lay the nucleus of the far-spreading influence of the " poor men of Lyons," as these noble-hearted lay preachers soon came to be called.

It is an inspiring picture. A group of laymen undertake to preach the gospel. They have given up all things for Christ. Like the Lord's apostles

in the days of the Galilean ministry, they go out, not knowing whither they go. They go in true apostolic style, without purse or staff, or two coats, or supplies of any sort. They go forth to preach, to help, to heal, yes, and to cast out devils, the roaring devils of greed and lust and selfishness.

Some of these men have undoubtedly been rich in worldly goods, as Peter Waldo himself has been, and amongst them are certainly to be found a number of his former friends. As they once wrought together in affairs of commercial and social interest, so now they labor together in the interest of the Kingdom of God.

Peter Waldo and Arnold of Brescia present strange likenesses and singular divergencies, in life and character, in attitude and outlook! Arnold was a monk and Peter a merchant. Arnold was the scion of an aristocratic race; Peter a member of a bourgeois family and almost a son of the soil. Arnold was from the first a flaming radical; Peter was for long years a steady and conservative man of business, and always intensely practical. Arnold was an iconoclast, consumed by a burning desire to destroy evil in high places; Peter was a constructive genius, building the gospel into men's lives by means of the Word and the Spirit. Arnold was a fiery reformer; Peter a humble apostle. Arnold easily became a leader by the force of a vigorous personality; Peter earned a place of leadership by virtue of his intense love for human souls.

Their likenesses, however, were more vital than their differences. Both were stalwart champions of

freedom. Both exercised that right of soul-liberty and private judgment which in the eyes of the Roman Church was anathema. Both were consecrated to the elemental New Testament ideals of simplicity and purity. Both based belief and service on the teachings of Holy Scripture. Both were vividly conscious of the fact that forms and ceremonials hampered the spiritual life. Both contended for a regenerate church; and, believing in a regenerate church, they could not believe in the rite of infant baptism. Both preached the way of salvation through faith in Jesus Christ. Both were heralds of a new democracy in the character and ministry of the church.

Let it be borne clearly in mind that Peter was a converted man. He had seen a great light; he had renounced worldliness and entered into fellowship with Christ; he was thoroughly changed. His one consuming desire was that men might be saved. The mummeries of Romanism had all become incidental; he had reached the beating heart of the gospel, and there he took his stand.

First of all he saturated his soul with the spirit of the Scriptures. At the fountain-head of truth he imbibed the principles of a pure gospel. These simple and sacred Biblical teachings have been a mighty weapon in the hands of many reformers against the entrenched forces of the hierarchy. But Peter Waldo was not at first a reformer. Far from it. Romanism meant little to him, one way or the other. He remained within the Church until he was expelled from it, because he knew of no other church

to enter. But his was a bold spirit, and his a passion for human redemption. So he went on his independent way, quietly, rejoicingly.

He studied the New Testament for his own inner nourishment, but also for the benefit of others. This man of fifty, who knew nothing about preaching, began to preach. This was inevitable. He was urged forward by the cry of his heart, "Woe is me if I preach not the gospel." At first he did not call it preaching, nor did any one else. He just recited portions of Scripture to people whom he met, or whose society he sought, and made simple comments upon the words thus recited. A man of homely speech and habits, quite unversed in the classics or in scholastic theology, he used homely texts in homely fashion in order to win every-day human beings to a saving faith.

Gradually he became versed in the ways of public discourse, and was hailed as a persuasive preacher, and as something of a reformer as well; for lay preaching was a phenomenon quite new under the ecclesiastical sun. In emulation of the early apostles, the Men of Lyons went forth two by two, visiting towns and villages, preaching in streets and public squares, and talking with the people in their homes.

He soon found himself teaching and training other men, who gathered eagerly about him. He found also that multitudes of the people were thirsty for the Word of Life. So his preachers had plenty of blessed work to do. Into the highways and byways they went. Through them Peter Waldo became the real founder of lay preaching and open-air

preaching. Without candles or altars or robes or incense or any churchly paraphernalia these men proclaimed the everlasting message of the Cross.

The associates of Peter called themselves "Brethren" and "The Poor of Christ." It is well to bear in mind that the good name of Brethren, which they preferred above all other titles, is the very name by which the various groups of non-conformists throughout Europe constantly called themselves at a later time, repudiating the nickname of "rebaptizers" or "Anabaptists," which their enemies sought to fasten upon them.

In face of the hoary superstition of Rome that the priests are a holy caste, removed from the people, and repositories of a special and divine grace, the Brethren of Lyons dared to declare that every redeemed man is a priest of God, and endowed with the privilege of preaching the blessed Word! This same doctrine, an essential part of Christ's teaching, became a rallying-call of the Anabaptist groups in the sixteenth century, but Waldo and the Waldenses were spiritual pioneers in the assertion of the priesthood of all believers.

For four years, between 1173 and 1177, the practise of lay preaching went forward without stern rebuke from the authorities. Then the archbishop of Lyons began to get worried over the way matters were going. He issued a mandate forbidding the wayside preachers to preach. They met him at once with the challenging response that they would obey God rather than man. So they went right on obeying God, while the archbishop became more and

more heated with the perplexities of the situation. He was a fussy little man, who could find no place in his system for a lot of freedom-loving and peripatetic lay preachers.

As he continued to use threats and mild persecutions, Peter and his comrades proceeded to call for a show-down. They appealed to the Pope. Things headed up in Rome as usual. Peter and one or two of his associates appeared at the Lateran Council of 1179, determined to know just where they stood in the eyes of the Romish autocrats. They petitioned Alexander III for recognition of their informal "Order," presenting him with the translation of the New Testament which they had procured, and informing him with regard to the character and methods of their work.

The Pope greeted them with a holy kiss. Then he appointed a commission to investigate their claim. This kiss that Pope Innocent III bestowed upon the humble visitors from the South of France was indeed a condescension. It affords a study in contrasts. The Roman Catholic Church had reached the zenith of its grandeur. Never before and never since has it so completely dominated the world and the kingdoms thereof, as at that period, and the man in the papal chair measured up to the dignity and magnificence of the Church itself. Astute, clear-visioned, able in his command of forces, his control of institutions, his super-statesmanship, he may be described as the greatest of the popes in the greatest age of the Church.

The men who had been summoned from Lyons to

the Council were bound by their vows to a life of poverty. They were ignorant, both in the ways of scholarship and in the modes and fashions of the cultured world. They were just plain every-day preachers, who were trying their best, in their limited sphere of action, to help human lives, to save human souls. Peter and John the fishermen before the Roman magistrates, the despised Paul in presence of the lordly Agrippa, Christ before Pilate—so here.

There has been preserved a full record of the examination to which the Men of Lyons were obliged to submit. It is in the handwriting of Walter Mapes, an Englishman of Welsh descent, who was chairman of the Commission, and who was evidently greatly puffed up by this appointment. He calls the petitioners simple-minded and illiterate, and relates with delight the shrewd artifices to which he resorted to entrap them in their talk. He compares them to donkeys, and to stupid birds which do not see the net spread for their undoing. He contrasts their ignorance with the profundity of their examiners who could not restrain their laughter at some of the answers that were given to their learned questions.

One thing must be said in favor of this British monk, Walter Mapes. He bears personal and emphatic witness to the holy lives of the Men of Lyons, and their zeal in imitating the life and love of Christ, and in practising the methods of the apostles. He tells us that they, "being poor themselves, follow Christ who was poor." They have "scarcely learned

to walk." He goes on to declare, "If we give countenance to these preachers, we ourselves shall be deposed and driven out." They are "impossible," for they go about barefooted, they clothe themselves in sheepskins, and they have all things in common like the Apostles. On receiving the racy report of Mapes and his fellow commissioners, the Council straightway forbade them to preach.

Did they courteously conform? Did they cease preaching? Did they cringe before the high and mighty Lords of Christendom? They were not men of the cringing and conforming type. With sturdy purpose and reenforced enthusiasm they just kept right on preaching. They refused to be bound. They became the valiant heralds of a rugged and unflinching Non-conformity.

They were denounced by the Council. They were expelled from Lyons. They were finally excommunicated by the Church at the Synod of Verona in 1184. They welcomed all these attacks as a part of the glorious adventure of life, and continued their joyous journeyings hither and yon on their ministries of mercy. Quite dramatic was the affair at Verona. Pope Lucius III was present in all his pomp, and the Emperor Barbarossa in all his magnificence. A swarm of prelates and courtiers added a brilliant coloring and an august dignity to the occasion. The thunder of the "perpetual anathema" of the Papacy against the heretics who "dared to preach, publicly and privately, without the authority of the bishop," caused all hearts to tremble except those of the humble and hearty Men of Lyons.

To them the curse of Lucius meant a practical disability, a restriction of opportunity in the spheres of their former activities. They proceeded to become forthwith the Waldenses of the Dispersion. They were scattered to the four winds of heaven. The efficient leadership of their chieftain was everywhere manifest. The number of their converts increased rapidly. They spread first into Lombardy where they made common cause with the "Poor Men of Lombardy" or Humiliati, who were the immediate successors of the Arnoldists, the followers of Arnold of Brescia. Peter Waldo's visits to Northern Italy went far to cement the two bodies, many of the Men of Lombardy recognizing and accepting his leadership.

Again in 1190, at a Council held in Narbonne, they were condemned. The incident is noteworthy because it occurred in connection with a dispute between orthodox Roman priests and some of the Waldensian leaders. Whether Peter Waldo himself was there and took part in the debate, we do not know, but it seems probable that he was present. The points under discussion formed only a small part of the evangelical beliefs of the Waldenses, but it is well to recount them because they show clearly the stalwart effort of the new order of protestants to secure a free faith.

The points in dispute were six in number: Obedience to pope and prelate is to be refused; all Christians, even laymen, may preach; God is to be obeyed rather than man; women may preach; masses, alms, and prayers for the dead are of no avail; prayer

in bed, or in a chamber, or in a stable, is as efficacious as in a church.

Surely these were fearfully bold words for plain and lowly men to utter. Certainly it required a full measure of godly courage to contend with proficient ecclesiastics in such matters. These principles, if true, and widely accepted as true, meant freedom and faith for each individual Christian; but they aimed a mortal blow at the entire organization of the Roman Church. They meant, in succinct terms, that every one who led a sincere and apostolic life had the right to preach, to consecrate, to bless; and to approach God directly and obey him faithfully, without priestly mediation. These men were sublime in their simple courage and the words they spoke were world-shaking.

Quietly, with a regenerating warmth and brightness, as the slow-rising sun disperses its rays into the shadowed places and the clefts of rocks and mountain caves, the evangelical teachings of the Waldenses spread into the south of France, along the five lovely valleys of Piedmont, into Spain, into all parts of Italy, and far up along the course of the Rhine.

Peter himself, after the edict of excommunication, accompanied by a group of his followers, traveled into the fierce mountain passes of the Cottian Alps, which lie between Dauphine in France and Piedmont in Northern Italy. Gradually, as missionary enterprises increased and the number of converts multiplied, the Piedmontese valleys became the chief scene of their evangelizing labors. In those pic-

turesque retreats, safeguarded by precarious passes, deep gorges, and lofty mountain peaks, they have lived their lives and exerted their pure and elevating influence for more than seven hundred years. Their simplicity has been their strength; their evangelical faith has been their glory and crown of rejoicing.

Peter Waldo spent his later years amongst his disciples in Piedmont; but was driven in his old age into Bohemia, where he died, full of years and attended by the loving reverence of a host of lowly saints, about the year 1216.

His life was beyond reproach. It was one of his stalwart principles, proclaimed insistently by himself and his preachers, that genuine spiritual and moral energies were inseparable. Even their enemies testified to the truthfulness of the Waldenses, to their modesty, temperance in all things, and purity of character. They regarded a lie as a mortal sin, and they held sacred every human life, contending even against judicial executions and the practise of warfare.

Since the Anabaptists of the later centuries and the Baptists of today have close relations, both in doctrine and practise, with the Waldenses, it may be well to indicate the chief matters of belief which bind together the early and the later dissenters.

In the first place, then, the Waldenses founded their faith solidly upon the Scriptures. Holy Writ was authoritative. The Bible should be in the hands of the people for their enlightenment. This insistent appeal to the Scriptures was vital, fundamental, and constructive. It undergirded the entire teaching

of Waldo and his followers. It threatened the whole traditional system of the Roman Catholic Church. It aimed to sweep away the mass of sacramental and ritualistic instructions which were encrusted upon the body of the hierarchy. The contrast between the sweet simplicity of Christ and the clear and powerful message of the gospel on the one hand, and the astounding splendor of priestcraft, together with the benumbing weight of the intricate ecclesiastical system on the other, had more and more convincingly penetrated the mind of the ordinary man. Peter Waldo brought this contrast to expression by his example of apostolic simplicity, his plain exposition of Scriptural truth, and his plea for a return to the ways and teachings of the New Testament.

In the second place, no intermediary should be allowed to stand between God and the believing soul. God was to be obeyed rather than man, whether that man be priest or prelate or pope. There was here a declaration of the right of liberty of conscience long before that essential Baptist doctrine came to its full utterance.

In the third place the Waldenses upheld the sacred office of preaching as the privilege of every person, priest or layman or laywoman, who had experienced the grace of Christ. That women should be allowed this privilege equally with men, and equally with the priestly orders, was startling indeed, and terribly shocking to the ecclesiastical mind of the day. These declarations were all founded in the ultimate principle that the power to consecrate and minister lay

not in the special ordination of any churchly body, but in the gift of spiritual endowment. Such a view, carried to its logical conclusion, would mean of course the overthrow of the hierarchy. So we rightly class Peter Waldo as a radical.

Further than this the persistent use of evangelizing methods, the emphasis of the simple yet sublime truths which lie at the heart of the gospel, and the appeal for a regenerate church, together with the repudiation of the validity of infant baptism, bring us to the natural conclusion that Waldo and his followers were courageous dissenters of a rather extreme type.

These forerunners of the Anabaptist heroes and martyrs fought valiantly for the emancipation of the human soul; and the greatest of their prophetic leaders was Peter Waldo.

III

BALTHASAR HÜBMAIER

Iconoclast

BALTHASAR HÜBMAIER, c. 1480–1528

I. The Reformation:
   1. Beginnings of Protestantism.
   2. Four outstanding leaders.

II. The Romanist:
   1. Hübmaier's birth and training.
   2. Steps in his progress:
      (1) Chief preacher at Regensburg.
      (2) Retirement to Waldshut.
      (3) Study of Scripture; discoveries.
      (4) Zurich; Regensberg; the debate at Zurich.
      (5) Becomes a Reformer.

III. The Reformer:
   1. Accused by the Government.
   2. Leaves Waldshut for Schaffhausen.
   3. A book with a mission.
   4. Defends Zwingli.

IV. The Anabaptist:
   1. Returns to Waldshut.
   2. Baptized and baptizer.
   3. Flees to Zurich.
   4. Oppressed by Zwingli.
   5. Troubles and imprisonment.
   6. Recantation; he leaves Zurich.

V. The Constructive Iconoclast:
   1. Leadership in Moravia.
   2. Three forms of productive labor.
   3. Overthrow of the fanatics.
   4. Expansion of influence.

VI. The Martyr:
   1. A government edict.
   2. Imprisonment, torture, and execution.

BALTHASAR HÜBMAIER

Iconoclast

The era of the Reformation witnessed the birth of Protestantism. Heroic pioneers of spiritual freedom like Arnold and Peter Waldo had not done their work in vain. At the opening of the sixteenth century the revolt against the Roman system had become wide-spread and threatening. The conflict raged in many lands and penetrated to almost every nook and corner of the Continent of Europe. Entire states and nations cast aside the galling yoke of the papacy.

Our modern modes of religious thinking had their beginnings in this era. The reformation may be described briefly as a brave attempt at a complete reaction from priestly autocracy, and as an effort to return to the principles of primitive Christianity. The Scriptures were to be reestablished in their place of final authority, and the worship of churchly traditions was to be definitely abandoned. The new Protestantism aimed at that freedom of investigation which the Romanists strenuously denied. These at least were the early ideals which the Reformers emphasized.

Three names are associated with the outstanding leadership of the time, those of Luther, Zwingli, and Calvin. A fourth name should be set beside these others. Balthasar Hübmaier was the most

consistent of all the reformers. Their iconoclasm was partial; his was complete. They clung still to some of the forms and relations of Romanism; Hübmaier and the other representative Anabaptists made a clean sweep, and built solidly upon the Scriptures.

No careful critic would say that the Lutheran system, with its retention of infant baptism, its ritualistic forms, and its close alliance between Church and State, was in any true sense a return to apostolic Christianity; and certainly its treatment of the "out-and-out" reformers was at times quite diabolical and wholly at variance with the spirit of liberty of conscience and worship.

Let us follow the career of Hübmaier, the most famous of the "Reformers of the Reformers." He was born about 1480 at Friedburg, five miles from the important city of Augsburg. He matriculated at the University of Freiburg on May 1, 1503. This late entrance into student life was probably due to the poverty of his family. He had to make his own way in the world. Like so great a multitude of other young men who have climbed to heights of distinction, he was forced to plan and economize with frugal caution. He soon broke his course at Freiburg and taught for some years in Schaffhausen, earning money for the continuance of his studies.

By-and-by he returned to Freiburg, taking his Master's degree in 1511 and receiving an appointment to teach in the University. He came in contact with John Mayer, better known as Dr. John Eck, a learned and fearless Roman Catholic divine.

The name Eck was assumed because of his birth in the town of Eck in Swabia. The friendship between the two men was one of mutual respect and admiration. Eck was the younger of the two in point of years, but he had already won a place of influence in the University.

A difficulty which arose between Eck and the authorities led to his withdrawal to the University of Ingolstadt. Hübmaier went with him, and in 1512 received the degree of Doctor of Theology. The oration was delivered by his friend, who described the recipient of the doctorate thus: "What progress he has made, his learned lectures, his sermons before the people, and his scholastic exercises give a sufficient testimony."

"Progress" was a good word to use; it is a significant feature of Hübmaier's scholastic and religious career. His eyes were ever on the future. He was always pressing forward, always discovering new areas of truth.

He is soon made a professor in the University. Then he becomes University preacher. Then he is chosen as Chaplain of the Church of the Virgin, an old Gothic structure which is still standing. Then he is elected vice-rector of the University. Then, in January, 1516, he is called to become chief preacher at the great Cathedral of Regensburg. And all of these honors in his forward march are bestowed within a period of three years and four months. This is indeed swift progress!

In Regensburg this man, now widely known as "an eloquent preacher and lecturer," becomes a

bitter persecutor of the Jews. We must remember that he is still a bigoted Romanist. By one of his acts of violence the Jews are turned out of their synagogue and the latter is converted into a Romish chapel, dedicated to "The Beauteous Mary." Miracles and supernatural wonders so multiply at this chapel that a new and much ampler church is built, to accommodate the thronging crowds. Pilgrims bring rich gifts, and superstition is crowned with prosperity. So, with his virile personality, incessantly urged by his love of action, he moves in the midst of exciting scenes.

After five brilliant years at Regensburg Hübmaier retired to the lovely little town of Waldshut, on the Rhine. We may well wonder why the distinguished scholar and preacher decided to exchange the prominence and wide influence of the Cathedral pulpit for an obscure living in a quiet country town. It is probable that his passionate love for study overmastered his zeal for constant outer movement, and that he desired freedom from the distractions of an intensely busy city life.

The people of Regensburg lamented his going, and the city fathers heaped their honors upon him. He had been a "stormy petrel," and the place must have seemed very dull and quiet after his departure. William Wyeland, a burgher and councilman, took him and his furniture in his own "iron-boat" down the Danube toward his new abode.

Though he knew it not, in Waldshut lay his fate. Little of peace was to be his portion in the peaceful retreat which he had chosen for his home. He was

still a devoted Romanist, bound by the chains of the hierarchy, but he was settling in the midst of a people with an intense love of liberty and a jealous regard for their rights. The prevalence of such a spirit, together with his own studies and meditations, began to work a mighty change in his convictions and religious outlook.

He commenced an exhaustive investigation of the Scriptures. His letters of this period indicate the extent of his study and its effect upon his mind and heart. As he prayed and pondered, as he followed the teachings of the gospel and the inspired epistles of Paul, he gradually came to the place of illumination and freedom.

He made two discoveries of startling import. He found that the simplicities of the gospel and the intricacies of the Roman system could not be reconciled. He found also that salvation could not be obtained by penances and priestly absolution, nor by obedience to the Church and observance of the several sacraments, but only by definite and personal faith in Jesus Christ.

A journey to Switzerland in the summer of 1522 and prolonged conferences with some of the Reformers strengthened his new-found opinions. The Swiss cities were aflame with the genius of the Reformation movement. Singularly enough, he followed this epochal journey with a return to the Chapel of the Beauteous Mary in Regensburg, in answer to the earnest demand of many old friends in that city. Although he did not resign his charge at Waldshut, he continued his preaching in Regensburg for seven

months, leaving there finally on the first of March, 1523. His preaching during those eventful months was quite different from that of the earlier period. It was New Testament preaching, and suffused with an awakening evangelical spirit.

The remaining years of Hübmaier's life were crowded with stirring events, and tense with the strife of tumult and confusion. Not only by his activities in Waldshut, but also in a wider sphere, his new reforming zeal found opportunity for influence. In October, 1523, he visited Zurich and took a leading part in a religious disputation which had been ordered by the Swiss Government. The use of images and the celebration of the mass were under discussion. Zwingli was mild in his statements, and counseled moderation, but Hübmaier took radical ground. He contended that it was sheer blasphemy "to teach that images call, move, and draw our souls to piety." Images should be removed from the churches. They were not only useless but their use was forbidden by the Word of God.

In the matter of the mass, Zwingli again was cautious in his position, but Hübmaier declared that to celebrate the mass as a sacrifice rather than as a memorial of Christ's death, was to venture beyond the teaching of the Scriptures. Although Hübmaier spoke with greater force than Zwingli and the others, he agreed in the main with those Reformers. He had simply advanced to the place where the Scriptures constituted his full authority for both doctrine and practise. In this allegiance he was more consistent than any of his brethren.

He returned to Waldshut from this conference definitely committed to the work of reform. In the months that followed his studies and silent communings brought him to a more and more advanced position. He proclaimed the new and evangelical doctrines from the pulpit; and his congregation listened to his words, which came to them as a veritable revelation, with eager and favoring interest. He soon came to be classed with Luther and Zwingli as one of the great Reformers. He withdrew all images and pictures from his church, swept the candles from the altar, and sold the chalices, robes, and jeweled ornaments which had been a cherished possession under the old order. He substituted the ordinance of the Lord's Supper for the priestly mass, and used the German instead of the Latin language in the ritual.

The inevitable happened. The Austrian Government was thoroughly Romanist, and Romanist priests abounded in the region where he lived. So he was menaced by both the secular and spiritual authorities. The Government brought charges against him, accusing him of heresy, and of publicly espousing doctrines "opposed to the Emperor and the Bishop." Commissioners came to Waldshut, and conferred with the mayor and town council regarding the matter. The latter officials courageously defended him, and their refusal to arrest and expel the heretic caused an even more bitter hatred against him and his friends. Again the Government demanded his instant expulsion, because he shared "Luther's condemned doctrines."

The Bishop of Constance joined with Prince Ferdinand in rebuking the council for harboring a Lutheran fanatic. The council was ready to stand with him and for him, even in face of the armed force that was threatened, but Hübmaier refused to bring such trouble upon his friends and neighbors, so he left Waldshut of his own free will, on the first of September, 1524. As far as the Swiss frontier he was escorted by three knights in armor, and there he was met by a similar guard of armed knights, who conducted him in safety to Schaffhausen.

So as a valiant and famous Reformer he came back to the town where he had once served as a humble and unknown teacher. The Austrian Government immediately demanded of the Schaffhausen town council that they surrender him. His letter to the council is an interesting plea for their favor. "If I have taught only truth," he says, "why abuse me? If error, any man may set me in the right way with the spiritual Word." Further he asserts that "in the whole two years past I have not preached a single letter that is not grounded in God's Word." The council listened to his appeal and declined to surrender him.

What the final issue would be he did not know. The Romanists were supreme in some of the Swiss Cantons, and they hated the Reformers. Their influence, with the pressure of the Austrian Government, and the growing suspicion on the part of Zwingli and others that Hübmaier was becoming too much of a radical, might combine to bring about his downfall. In the midst of these menacing forces

BALTHASAR HÜBMAIER

Iconoclast

the man himself remained quiet and undaunted. He sat down and wrote a book which created unlimited criticism. He called it *Concerning Heretics and Those Who Burn Them.* A brave title, and the book itself was quite as brave.

In this famous little book he declared boldly that "the law that condemns heretics to the fire builds up both Zion in blood and Jerusalem in wickedness," and that "he who is God's cannot injure any one unless he first deserts the gospel." The entire treatise was a forthright argument for toleration and the exercise of the spirit of Christ toward those who differ from us in religious belief. Further, it was the most cogent and thoroughgoing plea for liberty that the age produced.

Dr. John Eck and Zwingli were now engaged in a hot controversy. Hübmaier was always keen for debate and an ardent disputant. So he plunged into the arena, taking up cudgels in the cause of Zwingli and the Reformers. He prepared and published a series of theses, bearing the title: "Fundamental articles, which Baldazr, the fly of Friedburg, brother in Christ of Huldrjch Zwingli, has proposed to John Eck, the elephant of Ingolstadt, for masterly examination." The theses make vigorous appeal to the final authority of Holy Scripture, at that time the basic contention of Reformers and Anabaptists alike. To that principle the Anabaptists remained faithful; the Reformers did not.

In the autumn of 1524, Hübmaier returned to Waldshut and was greeted with enthusiasm by the people of the town, who had continued to suffer

from the oppressions of the Government on account of their sympathy with the Reformers.

Balthasar Hübmaier was a strenuous saint, a learned scholar, and a stimulating leader. He now comes to his own in full measure. Three months after his return to Waldshut he is recognized as a fiery radical, a heretic indeed, and a peril to Rome, if not also to the Reformers, beyond whom his logic and love for truth is now rapidly carrying him.

A new party was forming within the camp of the Reformers. Its members were true sons of freedom. They demanded a regenerate church founded on the New Testament model. They believed that no person should be compelled into church fellowship. They therefore rejected the meaningless rite of infant baptism. In February, 1525, the Waldshut Reformer took a decisive step. He had come by swift stages to the point of view of the extreme party. In a printed tract entitled *An Open Appeal*, he challenged any Christian man to prove from Scripture that baptism should be administered to infants. Zwingli had called baptism "a sign." As a sign it signified the pledge of faith and obedience unto death. To Hübmaier such a sign was wholly invalid since the child could make no such pledge. It was therefore a mere empty form, a superstition and an hypocrisy.

Just before Easter, 1525, he was baptized, together with sixty others, by William Reublin, who had been expelled from Zurich for his Anabaptist views and had fled to Waldshut. On Easter Sunday Hübmaier in his turn baptized three hundred men

on profession of their faith in Jesus Christ. He was now irrevocably committed to the opinions and outlook of the persistent advocates of freedom.

Waldshut was loyal to its famous friend and devoted preacher. By such loyalty it suffered in two directions. It incurred the unholy rage of Austria, and it cut itself off from the help of Switzerland, for even the Reformers of that land turned now in hot anger against the radical Reformer who had until this time been their ally in their struggle against Rome. Also, the Romanists in Waldshut, who had always opposed Hübmaier, now threatened to deliver the city to the Austrians. Early in December the Austrian forces marched into Waldshut. With them was the Bishop, who straightway celebrated mass, and announced the restoration of the city to the Catholic faith. All things were in league against the heroic Anabaptist, so he fled forthwith from Waldshut to Zurich. He was ill and hardly able to travel when he set forth. It was Christmas Day, but there was deep grief instead of Christmas joy in his heart as he left the little city which he loved so dearly, and in which, within a short time, such tremendous changes had taken place in his own heart and life.

Zurich was the home of Zwingli. This shrewd religious diplomat was virtually dictator of the city, in both civil and spiritual affairs. He had written a brief treatise on baptism soon after Hübmaier had submitted to that rite. The latter had penned a cogent and able rejoinder entitled, *The Christian Baptism of Believers.* The refutation was Scriptural

and convincing to any unprejudiced mind. In November Zwingli published a *Reply to Dr. Balthasar's Little Book on Baptism,* which merely repeated the arguments which he had used in his earlier pamphlet, and exhibited a spirit of impatience and anger that boded ill for his future attitude toward his former friend. Hübmaier's reply to this second utterance was published soon after his arrival in Zurich.

His debate with Zwingli was by no means a politic or conciliatory method of action. He seemed to have come to the headquarters of the Reformation movement in the spirit of challenge. Certainly he received no cordial welcome. He could not have come to a more dangerous place. The city council had just taken measures of utmost severity against the extreme reformers, so that their very lives were in peril.

Hübmaier found refuge at the Green Shield, a humble inn, kept by a widow, Mme. Bluntschli, a recent convert to Baptist views. Soon the council learned of his presence, and he was arrested, Zwingli loudly asserting that he was doubtless "hatching out some monstrosity." By order of the council he was obliged to meet the Swiss Reformer in public debate.

Hübmaier showed forth, to his antagonist's discomfiture, that Zwingli had contradicted his own expressed opinion of the unscripturalness of infant baptism, and seems to have had the decided advantage in the strength and logical force of his position. The council decided in favor of its own

preacher, as was to be expected; and further decreed that Hübmaier must immediately recant, or take his departure from the city.

In face of this emergency, Hübmaier consented to recant. He read his recantation in the Minster of Our Lady, in presence of a large congregation. This was followed by an address of Zwingli. But when he had finished Hübmaier rose a second time, and forthwith recanted his recantation, and launched forth into an eloquent defense of believer's baptism.

The Reforming leaders, many of whom were present, interrupted him and called for his arrest. He was hustled out of the church by police officials and cast into prison. There, although exhausted and ill, he was fed on insufficient food and tortured by his jailers. By methods of extreme violence he was reduced to a state of despair. His wife was also imprisoned, and many other dissenters. Stretched upon the rack, and suffering extreme agony, he was compelled to issue a recantation of his views. This document still exists, and it asserts that its signer had been " moved to fall from my purpose, namely, that one should not baptize children, and that in the matter of rebaptism I have erred."

This recantation may be regarded as a blot upon the fair name of the mighty Reformer. It is well, however, to consider that he was very weak and ill in body and mind at the time; that his heart was bruised and bent because Zwingli and others whom he had admired and revered were his persecutors; that he had only recently accepted the views of the extreme group whose cause he espoused; and that he

was forced to the act of recantation by methods of extreme torture. He bitterly bewailed his attitude of submission afterward: "O God, pardon me my weakness. It is good for me (as David says) that thou hast humbled me."

At first the council condemned him to instant expulsion from the city, in spite of his retraction. This decision was modified, and he was allowed to remain for a time, but under strict surveillance. After a little while he left Zurich quietly, going first to Constance, then to Augsburg, and then to Nikolsburg in Moravia, where he arrived in July, 1526.

He had traveled a long road in a short space of time. From Romanist to Anabaptist was a perilous journey, and he tested various phases of the Reformation movement on the way. He had suffered much. His departure from Waldshut caused him poignant sorrow. His reception at Zurich was a heart-rending episode. As we read the story of his harsh imprisonment, his recantation, and his subsequent recovery of faith, he seems a broken man, a Peter who has denied his Lord, yet a Peter penitent; and then a Pentecostal Peter, flaming with zeal for God and the gospel, and ready to be delivered unto death, if need be, for the truth's sake.

At Nikolsburg he entered into the most productive, as also into the climacteric period of his life. Moravia welcomed him gladly. Many religious refugees were there. Almost immediately several noble-hearted leaders of the evangelical movement, who were not Anabaptists, were enlightened and baptized by him. Nikolsburg at that time was adminis-

tered by the Barons of Lichtenstein, Leonard and John. Both of these men yielded to the convincing words of the new prophet and were baptized on confession of faith. Besides this, within one short year after Hübmaier's arrival, six thousand persons were added to the churches.

He evinced now, even more fully than ever before, his princely gift of leadership. His labors were threefold; he was a powerful preacher, an exceptionally able organizer and executive, and a clear and convincing writer. Within six months after his arrival in Nikolsburg he had published four books, not large in size, but profound in content and vigorous in style and scholarship.

There were many groups of Anabaptists; but the most of these aligned themselves with one or the other of two parties, which were both represented in Moravia. Hans Hut, a fanatic and incendiary, preached that it was the duty of the saints to exterminate the ungodly, even as the Israelites destroyed the Canaanites. None had a right to use the sword except God's chosen ones, and they should use it to the limit. Hut taught also the community of goods and the speedy coming of the day of the Lord. Wherever he went he carried confusion. Many Anabaptists of Moravia were inflamed by his teachings.

Hübmaier and others, aided by the Lords of Lichtenstein, opposed these fanatics, and sought to bring their seditious movement to an end, but the furore had caused all Anabaptists to be regarded with suspicion. The one reasonable doctrine of the extrem-

ists, that of community of goods, continued to be preached, and after Hübmaier's death was carried into remarkably efficient operation in Moravia.

The treatise *On the Sword,* which Hübmaier published at this time, made a profound impression. Its sanity and Scripturalness place it above criticism. It differentiates clearly between the temporal sword and the sword of the Spirit. The former is to be borne by the magistrate for the punishment of evil and the upholding of good government. The latter, as the Word of God, is the possession of the Christian soldier; by it he is to overcome, by spiritual means, all spiritual foes. In this discourse the author argues powerfully, if indirectly, for the absolute separation of Church and State.

The advocates of a free and regenerate church were now multiplying everywhere. These heretics were to be found in all European lands, and against them both the Romanists and the Reformers issued their diatribes and launched their persecutions. Hübmaier was kept intensely busy both with lip and pen. His writings were read with eager interest far beyond the boundaries of Moravia. During the last two years of his life, the heroic period in his strange career, his influence was greater than that of any man in Europe.

Events were moving toward his swift overthrow. Ferdinand, who had long been his bitterest enemy, and who had proceeded against him so mercilessly in Waldshut, was now elected to the Margravate of Moravia. The barons of Lichtenstein, together with the other Moravian nobles, were obliged to acknowl-

edge his overlordship and resign the partial independence that they had hitherto enjoyed. In August, 1527, an edict was published, directing that all those who practised rebaptism and who refused the sacrament of the altar, should be arrested and punished. This action was aimed directly at the Anabaptist groups.

Hübmaier, as the foremost leader of the rebels, was honored by especial attention. Some of his writings were laid before the Austrian Government. Startled by their anti-Romanist character and by their plea for a free church, and frightened by stories of the rapid spread of the teachings they inculcated, the authorities made imperative demand upon the Barons of Lichtenstein that they should forthwith bring to Vienna the arch-heretic, Balthasar Hübmaier, and his wife. This order was obeyed. After a preliminary examination they were taken from the royal prison in Vienna, where they had been lodged at first, to some other place of confinement, probably the Castle of Greifenstein.

In this serious situation, held fast by his foes and menaced with a violent death, Hübmaier's thoughts turned toward a dear friend of earlier days, John Faber, who was then vicar-general of the Bishop of Constance. He wrote imploring him to visit him, and Faber willingly consented. The interviews between them lasted for several days. Faber brought with him only one book, the Bible, and the two friends conversed earnestly on the subjects upon which they differed, the visitor being exceedingly anxious to bring his former colleague back to the " true faith."

On two essential points they remained far apart, the question of infant baptism, and that of the change in the elements of the Eucharist. With mutual expressions of affection these two learned and good men, representing views so widely divergent, spoke their farewells.

The end was now rapidly approaching. The prisoner was brought back to Vienna on March 4, 1528. He was stretched on the rack and tortured by various cruel methods, but he stedfastly refused to recant. Then he was "condemned to the fire." Those who pitied his sad estate entreated him to confess to the priest and receive the last rites of the Church. This also he sternly refused to do. He was at peace with God, and he faced his fate with unflinching fortitude.

On the tenth of March he was led forth from the prison and placed in a cart to be taken to the place of execution. It has been said that on the way through the streets parts of his flesh were torn from his body with red-hot pincers. He repeated aloud certain passages from the Scriptures. About him was a troop of armed soldiers, and curious crowds attended the procession.

As he approached the funeral pile he prayed: "O gracious God, forgive my sins in my great torment. . . . Into thy hands I commit my spirit!" To the people who were gathered he said: "O dear brothers, if I have injured any, in word or deed, may he forgive me for the sake of my merciful God. I forgive all those that have done me harm." As they removed his clothing he cried, "From thee also, O

Lord, were the clothes stripped"; and added, "O Lord, into thy hands I commit my spirit!"

The wood was kindled, the smoke and flame rose up about him. Soon the voice of his prayers was stilled by the suffocating fumes and the fiery agony. Thus he gave himself to death for his faith. Not even with this did his persecutors pause. Three days later his wife, who had been loyal to him throughout all his sufferings and changes of fortune, and who held firmly to the same great principles for which he died, was thrown into the waters of the river Danube, with a great stone tied about her neck.

IV

MENNO SIMONS

Conservator

MENNO SIMONS: c. 1492–1559

I. Types of Anabaptists:
   1. Constructive radicals.
   2. Fanatics.
   3. The Mennonites.

II. The Making of a Reformer:
   1. The priest awakes.
   2. He studies the Scriptures.
   3. He preaches the gospel.
   4. He leaves the Roman Church.

III. The Reformer's Impact Upon Society:
   1. Menno Simons and Hofmann.
   2. A well-balanced faith.
   3. Activities of the new convert:
      (1) The call to preach.
      (2) Separating and segregating Anabaptists.
      (3) Organization of free churches.
      (4) Evangelistic journeys.

IV. Times of Persecution:
   1. The Dutch Inquisition.
   2. Martyr hymns.
   3. The hunters and the hunted.
   4. Death for Menno's friends.

V. The Man and His Work:
   1. Freedom of faith.
   2. Strictness of discipline.
   3. Death crowns a life of sacrifice.
   4. Menno compared with Arnold, Waldo, Hübmaier.

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It is important to keep clearly in mind the fact that there were two types of Anabaptists, the level-headed and the fanatical. To the first of these classes Hübmaier belonged, and John Denck, brilliant scholar and mystic, "the Anabaptist Apollo," a learned and gracious man, whose saying, "In matters of faith everything must be left free, willing, and unforced," became a famous rallying-cry in the lists of the fighters for freedom. Strong and sane in their radicalism also, were Conrad Grebel, member of an eminent and aristocratic family of Zurich; George Blaurock, "a second Paul"; Ludwig Hatzer, ardent Prohibitionist and friend of the poor; and Felix Mantz, one of the most famous Hebrew scholars of his day, who was done to death by drowning. All of these men were well-trained, eloquent of speech, and exceedingly zealous.

Hans Hut and the hot-headed Münsterites represented the extreme type, whose actions brought shame and dishonor upon all who bore the Anabaptist name. One of these leaders, a wild-eyed religious demagogue, was Melchior Hofmann, an ignorant furrier, whose weird interpretations of the Apocalypse and claims to prophetic divine guidance led to strange excesses. Another was Jan Mathys, a baker, who believed himself to be the prophet

Enoch and the herald of an immediate final judgment of the world. Another was Brent Rothmann, who, with Mathys and others, established the visible "kingdom of God" by force in Münster. Another was John of Leyden, who succeeded Mathys after the latter's death in battle, and who instituted a reign of perverted religious despotism, with polygamy and general sensuality, since "the saints could do no wrong."

Through the vagaries of these "crack-brained fanatics, half lunatic, half criminal," swift destruction came upon multitudes of their deluded followers. Repressive measures were carried into effect, persecutions raged everywhere, and thousands of people, the innocent as well as the blameworthy, were punished. It is little wonder that the name of Anabaptist became loaded with opprobrium. Many of the surviving groups adopted the simple name of "Brethren," but soon great numbers of them came to be known as "Mennonites."

This new title introduces to us a rare and noble personality, Menno Simons. To him more than to any other man or group of men was due the preservation and perpetuation of those priceless principles of freedom for which the clear-visioned leaders of the Anabaptists had been contending. His name deserves to be held in eternal honor, by Baptists and by all friends of liberty.

He was born about the year 1492, at the small town of Witmarsum, in Friesland. He was educated for the priesthood and in the year 1530 became the parish priest in the place of his birth. Some time

after this settlement he began to study the Reformation movement. He soon became profoundly influenced by the Scriptural teachings of the Swiss and German reformers, and by their appeal for a free church and the deliverance of the human conscience from the thraldom of the Roman dominion. While he thus mused the inner fires kindled.

One day, while he was performing his priestly duties at the altar, there flashed into his mind the thought that the body and blood of Christ could not be, in veritable truth, contained within the bread and wine of the mass. The very suggestion seemed impious, but he could not banish it from his mind. In common with so many priests of the day he was leading at that time a careless and immoral life. For years he continued in this evil way, outwardly a holy priest, inwardly a reprobate. But an impulse toward the light had been created, a doubt had been born, a start had been made toward his soul's liberation.

The cruel death of one Sicke Frierichs, a humble tailor, excited the curiosity of the young priest. Frierichs was imprisoned, tried, condemned, tortured, slain by the sword, his body burned and his head set on a stake—what infernal thoroughness!—because he had denied the value of infant baptism, had himself been "rebaptized," and had affirmed his stout belief in a regenerate church. Startled by this incident Simons went at once to the Scriptures. In his training as a priest he had accepted without question all the teachings of Romanism. Now he delved deeply into this novel subject of

infant baptism. To his surprise he could find no syllable of the New Testament that justified the custom.

The cold-blooded murder of many of the Münsterites excited his horror. He realized that they were wild in their ways and erroneous in their views; but he contrasted their lives with his own. They were stripped of their property, tortured and slain, yet they bore all this willingly for the sake of their faith. He was not guilty of their doctrinal faults, but he was living a carnal life, preaching doctrines he did not really believe, and acting thus the hypocrite.

He saw himself enjoying ease and popularity, pursuing his way of unrestrained defilements and knowing not the Cross of Christ. The fanatical reformers must have much of truth on their side, or they could not be so courageous and self-sacrificing. Certainly, as he had already found, they were right in their repudiation of infant baptism. Of this he was certain. He stood upon this certainty and went forward.

Menno Simons was no compromiser. Having come to a conviction, he could not withhold his expression of it. So from his pulpit he preached his new-found conviction. Strong truths do not stand alone. There is an intimacy of relationship amongst truths, and one leads on irresistibly to another. Menno Simons soon found himself preaching the doctrines of sin, repentance, and the grace of Jesus Christ. Incidentally, having now become an ardent student of Scripture, he began to amend his habits.

But to make a breach in his church relations was an extreme and dangerous proceeding. He was ardent and ambitious. To ally himself with the Reformers meant alienation from kindred and friends, and the renunciation of honors and preferment. To go even further, to become an Anabaptist, meant utter disgrace in the eyes of all men whose opinions he respected. What should he do?

For nine months he waited, although he still preached with fervid eloquence the truths which were being revealed to his keen and searching mind. Then he surrendered himself fully to the Spirit of the Lord, and severed his relations with the church which had been his home. This act caused amazement and horror in the town where he lived. It was no partial separation. He claimed absolute liberty in the name of Jesus Christ, and made a complete break with the idolatries of the Romish Church. From that day in the year 1535, when he arrived at his great decision, to the day of his death, more than twenty-four years later, he remained a stanch upholder of Anabaptist views and a radical reformer with pronounced convictions.

Just at first, indeed, he became too radical, and a revolutionist rather than a reformer; but this attitude was only initial and momentary. In matters of spiritual experience, men are apt to swing from one extreme to its opposite. Roman Catholic in ancestry, training, and outlook, born and bred in its traditions and dedicated to its service, the young priest was deeply settled in the grooves of a dull and mechanical round of priestly duties. When his

soul was stirred and his understanding actively awakened, he rejected the whole Roman system.

In his going he went far. He went beyond the Reformers to the Anabaptists, and beyond the more moderate of these to the most extreme. He became in some things a disciple of Hofmann. Thus, within a year or so he ran rapidly through the whole series of current Christian creeds, from the autocracy of Romanism to the anarchy of Hofmannism.

This was due in part to the fact that just at the time of Menno's awakening Hofmann was preaching in Friesland and Holland, and many people were flocking to his standard. By the rude and ignorant populace he was regarded as an inspired prophet of God. A prophecy had been uttered concerning him to the effect that, after six months' imprisonment in Strassburg, he would make that city the headquarters of the millennial dispensation; and that under his training there would issue forth from that city a hundred and forty and four missionaries, to condemn and convert the whole world.

So, after three years of preaching in the Netherlands, to Strassburg Hofmann went, in obedience to the letter of this prophecy. He was promptly arrested and imprisoned. So much seemed well and good. But unfortunately for him, he continued to lie within the stone walls of his prison until the day of his death, ten years later.

Menno's devotion to the doctrines of Hofmann was temporary, though significant. It brought him into quite close contact with a class of fervid enthusiasts whose words and actions were in strange

contrast with those of any persons whom he had ever known before. He affiliated himself with these Anabaptists, uniting with one of their churches and recognizing "re-baptism," but his balanced mind almost at once reacted from the fantastic theories of the visionaries, while it approved and accepted the standards of stanch belief maintained by the more moderate members of this democratic group.

A new life lay before him now, a life of poverty and peril, of sincerity and devotion. Throughout his entire future career two attributes of the man are constantly in evidence, his courage and his kindliness. He was not greedy for leadership. He proposed to spend his time in study and in writing. Coming forth from the paternal ægis of the Roman Church he was without a spiritual home, without friends, without employment. He spent one full year in solitary study and thought, thus unconsciously preparing himself for his future mission to men.

He was not to remain in obscurity, however; and an incident which occurred while he was in retirement fixed the mold of his destiny. He was waited upon by a little company of six or eight Anabaptist believers who urged him to exercise his gifts as a preacher. They said: "The oppressed call for you. Our poor saints are hungry for the Word and for shepherds of the Word. Very few are the faithful stewards. Will you not lead us?" Their visit seemed to be a command from heaven, their need his opportunity. So to preaching he went with a will, and wherever a worshiping group could be

gathered. This was the beginning of his noble ministry as a dissenter and religious prophet.

We have spoken of the two parties within the Anabaptist fold. Both of these were active in Holland as elsewhere. One taught polygamy, the imminent second coming of Christ, and the duty of preparing to extend the earthly kingdom of the coming Messiah by fire and sword. They were also obsessed by the notion of perfection, claiming that they themselves were saints, and so above all ordinary human laws.

The other party condemned polygamy in flaming terms and repudiated the doctrine of the sword, contending that no true Christian should bear arms. They were resolute in denouncing the corruption of Rome, in denying infant baptism and all useless rites, in preaching a regenerate church and freedom of conscience. With this party Menno soon allied himself.

He did more. He was a constructive genius. He repudiated the abominations of the fanatics in words of scathing censure. He demanded their withdrawal from the communities of believers. To his enlightened mind their riotings and perversities were worthy of the utmost abhorrence. Thus he definitely separated them from the worthy Christians who were his true brethren. Thus also he purged those honorable groups from the errors that had spoiled their sanctities, and he built them up in the most holy faith.

He drew to himself, through his fearless proclamation of the truth, an ever-increasing body of de-

voted men and women, and organized them into independent churches. He traveled widely and exerted everywhere an immeasurable influence for good. His evangelistic labors were tireless and gloriously productive. In France, Holland, Switzerland, Germany, and even to the borders of Russia, he carried forward his quickening propaganda. Tens of thousands were won to the simple and stalwart faith of the New Testament. The Scriptures were all and in all to Menno and his followers, and their conceptions of an apostolic church and of religious liberty sprang from their ceaseless study of the Word of God.

The times were troublous for these hosts of faithful dissenters. Menno spent his life in constant danger of death. Both Holland and Belgium were under the iron heel of Charles V of Spain, a merciless Catholic inquisitor. The year before Menno declared his new-found faith a decree was issued at Brussels, commanding the extinction of the entire Anabaptist population. During a period of twenty-five years, extending into the earlier portion of Menno's public ministry, fifty thousand people were martyred in Holland alone, and the most of these were Baptists. No distinctions were made between the worthy and the unworthy, so a multitude of loyal saints were victims of the persecutors' tortures and butchery.

It is interesting to study, in the pages of Liliencron, the story of heroic fortitude. This writer collected the martyr hymns of both Lutherans and Baptists. He brought together three Lutheran

hymns, memorializing four martyrs, and sixty-two Baptist hymns, recounting the stedfastness of three hundred of the "Brethren." Some such proportion was elsewhere observed. The Baptist martyrs vastly outnumbered those of other groups. It has been said that no chapter in history is more horrible than that which records the persecution of the Netherland Baptists under Charles V.

Menno abated not one whit of his energy because of these terrifying events. He never quailed before the threats of his foes. He was "instant in season, out of season, always abounding in the work of the Lord." He redeemed the Anabaptist cause. He inspired a mighty evangelical movement. In spite of the burnings and drownings, the cross and the sword, the numbers of the friends of freedom constantly increased.

Partly because of their reverence for the man who had been instrumental in their conversion, and partly because the term Anabaptist had been too often associated with extreme fanaticism, the followers of Menno gradually assumed the name of Mennonites; but their beliefs and practises were in most respects identical with those of our modern Baptist people.

Attempts upon the life of Menno Simons and plans to entrap him were constantly being made. On one occasion he was passing down a Dutch canal in a small boat. An officer of the Government who was seeking his arrest, accompanied by a spy who knew him and had agreed to deliver him into the officer's custody, was making his way along the canal

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in the opposite direction. Recognizing them, Menno leaped ashore from his boat and escaped. Just as he disappeared from view the spy cried out, "The bird has escaped us!" The officer, angered beyond measure, attacked his companion with heavy blows, and accused him of perfidy in allowing their quarry to go free. The man answered this assault by asserting that he could not speak in time because his tongue was tied. The authorities beheaded the hapless spy, but the friends of Menno declared that a heavenly intervention had choked the man's speech. Such narrow escapes from seizure and death were frequent in Menno's career.

It may be said that for a quarter of a century he lived with a sword suspended by a single hair above his head. Spies sought to entrap him. Ambushes abounded on every hand. Rome hated him because he had defied Rome. The Reformers denounced him because he was too much of a reformer. Courts and governments hounded him because they were subservient to his churchly enemies. Yet he seemed to live a charmed life, for he was never even arrested, in spite of the intrigues of his foes. Courageous to a fault he also was gifted with much common sense, and he had many loyal friends; so he went about doing good, preaching the gospel of grace, confirming the souls of believers, making many converts and strengthening the whole Anabaptist situation by his marvelous executive abilities.

Fancy his situation! One of the bloody edicts issued against him promised a general pardon, the favor of the Emperor, the freedom of the country

and a hundred carl-gulden to any person or persons who would deliver him into the hands of the criminal judge. What a tempting bait for murderers and malefactors!

He was sorely distressed at times by the evils that necessarily fell upon his followers on account of his devotion to the truth. It is always so! Those who make common cause with the intrepid declarers of truth must expect to suffer. One of the decrees against Menno Simons announced that whoever should shelter or conceal him, or any of his associates, would suffer death. A man of blameless character, Meyneer Reynerts, had extended the hospitality of his home to Menno Simons. Informers carried the news to the police. He was arrested and subjected to most villainous tortures, which ended in an agonizing death. In prayers and tears and martyr blood, many such humble heroes sealed their consecration with their lives.

There was certainly no bodily peace or place of rest for the persecuted wanderer. He was hunted from city to city. A proclamation by the governor of his native province decreed that any one who bestowed upon him food and lodging, or had in his possession any book written by him, should receive condign punishment. It was the high day of Duke Alva. The Inquisition raged in Holland as in Spain, since Holland was then a province of Spain.

Everywhere the " carnival of blood " brought men and women to their death. A little company of Menno's followers in Amsterdam were taken from their beds and conveyed to the Hague. There they

were sentenced to death. After they had been beheaded their heads were returned to Amsterdam in a herring-basket. Priests and civil officials worked in harmony against the soldiers of truth. New forms of excruciating torture were constantly being devised. Yet the numbers of the faithful steadily increased, and at the time of Menno's death there were groups of Mennonite believers in every town and village of Holland and Belgium.

Menno Simons was a liberator and a conservator. With an ardor born of a profound consecration to the innermost truths of the Christian religion, he preached the essentials of a free faith. He hotly opposed the degenerate teachings of the Münster zealots. He separated the sheep from the goats. In the books that he wrote and the sermons that he preached, he exalted the highest type of morality. He gathered the sensible and true-hearted brethren into peaceable congregations. He was always a practical man and he insisted upon a practical gospel. He taught his followers to abound in good works.

He had been through fiery trials. He had known the fierce discipline of a great renunciation. So he taught no easy-going rule of life. He was stern and strong, yet always kindly. He led men by the way of the burden and the cross. He was severe in his discipline and allowed no laxity of faith or practise. A stalwart himself, he trained stalwarts. Fearless, devout, and irrepressible, he became an example to all the believers in those conquering virtues.

After such strenuous labors as few men have known, he died "in an open field," which probably

means in a humble hamlet in the country, near Lubeck, in 1559. Though he did not earn the crown of martyrdom, his whole life was a splendid giving of life as a testimony to the glory of the life everlasting. Tens of thousands of Christian people, who delighted to honor him by bearing his name as an emblem of their faith, lamented his death while they thanked God for his victorious ministry amongst men.

The teachings of Menno are very simple and wholesome. They became the teachings of the Mennonites and were faithfully perpetuated. They did much to advance the cause of spiritual freedom throughout Northern Europe. Menno went beyond Luther, beyond Zwingli, beyond Calvin. He was a thoroughgoing reformer, who carried the Reformation doctrine to its logical and inevitable conclusions. He became the recognized chieftain of the Anabaptists; he systematized their essential tenets, and focalized their fervid protests.

In his fiery denunciations of laxity and hypocrisy, and in his zestful efforts for a pure church, he sounded the same high note that Arnold of Brescia had so ceaselessly proclaimed. In sweeping aside all the entanglements of ritualism and founding his faith upon the blessed Word of Scripture, he reminds us most forcibly of Peter Waldo. In his attacks upon the corruption incident to the custom of infant baptism, and in his eloquent pleas for a regenerate church founded upon personal faith in a Divine Redeemer, he is in hearty accord with the enlightened preaching of Hübmaier's latest years.

He went beyond these others in his labors of organization, segregating the believers in churches, separating the zealous from the mad and fanatical, laying solid foundations for future growth, and stabilizing the entire Anabaptist movement. Through all his teachings ring the pure tones of the blessed Evangel of the Cross.

V

JOHN SMYTH

Puritan

JOHN SMYTH: c. 1566–1612

I. The Struggling Student:
   1. Earns his way through College.
   2. Receives his scholastic degrees.
   3. Puritan, teacher, clergyman.

II. The Seeker After Truth:
   1. Strenuous days at Lincoln.
   2. Deposed, he publishes an "Apologia."
   3. Religious parties in England.
   4. Smyth becomes a Puritan leader.

III. The Separatist:
   1. Physician and preacher at Gainsborough.
   2. Statement of Non-conformity.
   3. A free-church Covenant.
   4. Smyth and Helwys lead Separatist emigrations.

IV. The Baptist:
   1. Amsterdam:
      (1) Its free spirit.
      (2) Separatist settlements.
   2. Four religious groups; their differences.
   3. Smyth moves forward:
      (1) Advocates a regenerate church; publishes his convictions.
      (2) Disbands church and organizes church of believers only.
      (3) Mode and subjects of baptism.
      (4) Significance of Smyth's position.

V. The Witness of Smyth and Helwys:
   1. Smyth seeks union with Mennonites; Helwys objects.
   2. Smyth and Helwys separate.
   3. Two great Freemen.

VI. Work and Character:
   1. Abundant labors and early death.
   2. Influence of his protest:
      (1) Scholar and thinker.
      (2) Originality.
      (3) Gifts as leader and organizer.
      (4) His pioneer labors.
      (5) Personal life.
      (6) A man of international mind.

JOHN SMYTH

Puritan

John Smyth was an Englishman, thoroughly so, although he lived long in Holland. He was also a Puritan, persistently so, although he passed beyond the tenets of the Puritan to those of the Separatists and then to those of the Baptists. He remained a Puritan in his sturdy character, his plainness of speech, his rigid morals, and his intense devotion to the ideals of justice and righteousness. So we are correct in calling him John Smyth the Puritan.

Of his family, both distant and immediate, we are left in ignorance. His parents' names are not known, nor when he was born, nor where. He comes before us first as a sizar at Christ's College, Cambridge, in March of the year 1586. He had just matriculated, and seven years of study at the famous school lay before him. He found himself a humble unit, amongst two thousand university undergraduates.

As a sizar he had his duties cut out for him. The sizar was a combination of waiter, valet, bootblack and general efficiency man, who earned his way through college by the exercise of tasks as a servant, chief amongst which was personal attendance upon a master or tutor. The early chapel service in those robust days was held at five o'clock in the morning. John Smyth, as a sizar, would waken his

tutor, dress him, and put his room in order before the ringing of the chapel bell. After chapel he would draw a mug of ale, and set it, with a portion of bread, for the tutor's frugal repast.

At six the servant became a student and attended lectures, the program delegating the subjects of logic and dialectics, philosophy and poetry, to that hour. Lectures continued until near the noon hour, when the sizar assisted in spreading the "high-table" in commons, and attended upon his tutor's needs during the progress of the meal. With his costewards he ate his own dinner after the Masters and Fellows had departed. Some afternoons were devoted to lectures, and some were left free to the students for recreation or private study. But the sizar was seldom free. He was obliged to look after the needs of his more fortunate fellow students, and "fag" for them at football, quoits, and tennis. Or he might be sent on errands into town, or attend his tutor on the latter's walks abroad. At five the second meal in commons was served, at six the sizar might seek the solitude of his room for study, at nine in winter and at ten in summer the curfew rang at Great St. Mary's, and the entire college body was supposed to retire to rest. In this somewhat sordid fashion John Smyth occupied his Cambridge days.

In 1590 he was awarded his Bachelor's degree, with a hundred and eighty other candidates; and in 1593 he became a Master of Arts. In common with other graduates, and according to custom, he was obliged to take several oaths as a condition of receiving the Master's degree. One of these pledged

his faith in the Scriptures, while another attested his faith in the Church as the divinely ordered interpreter of the Scriptures. Smyth, at that time a faithful son of the Established Church, would have no scruples in taking these solemn pledges.

One incident indicates, however, the early trend of his mind toward freedom. In a contested election to a college Fellowship the issue of Puritan and anti-Puritan was raised. On this occasion Smyth ranked himself definitely with the Puritan faction. In 1594 he was chosen a Fellow of Christ's College, and some months later was ordained as a priest. His teaching soon became popular; but he was more than teacher and priest. He was accustomed to gather likely men into his room for purposes of prayer and religious conversation, thus evincing a human interest broader than the ordinary limits of altar offices or professorial lectures.

For four years he continued his college duties, taking his turn in preaching at chapel and in conducting public exercises in philosophy and theology. In the year 1600 he was chosen Public Lecturer for the city of Lincoln. It was an important post. The diocese of Lincoln was the largest in all England. The Cathedral was a stately structure. Smyth's duties embraced the conduct of certain services in the Cathedral and weekly preaching in one or another of the parish churches. His stipend was very large for the position and the period. He received £40 a year, with £3 6s 8d for house-rent and the privilege of keeping three cows on the common.

In the influential office to which he had been

raised Smyth manifested from the first a fierce hostility to "doltish papish" superstitions. He was not yet fully settled in his religious views, but he may be described as a moderate Puritan. He used prescribed forms of prayer and admitted the need of Bishops to govern the flock. He soon became involved in litigation and party disagreements. One of these grew out of the accusation that he had preached against a certain councilman of the town, denouncing him as "a mightie madde Bul and a Lyon." Smyth indignantly denied any such reference, but the war of words went forward in the city and then in the courts. Finally, after an incumbency of two years and a half, he was ousted from office.

He was deposed by vote of the Corporation of Lincoln, which condemned him as "a facetious man." His alleged description of a dignified councilman as a mad bull and a lion, may have been deemed facetious, but "factious" is probably the word that the Corporation was striving after. His later experiences prove quite conclusively that Smyth was very steady in his adherence to opinions that he had formed, and utterly courageous in declaring his views, although hardly factious or quarrelsome. He was one of those stout and strenuous souls who inevitably encounter difficulties and make enemies.

In order to clear himself of the councilman's accusation he had had the four offending sermons published. The dedication is an interesting defense of his action in printing such a document as a series of

sermons, when men's minds were so avid for light and sensational literature:

> It seemeth a thing very reasonable to me that seeing every bald tale, vain interlude, and pelting ballad hath the privilege of the Press, the sermons and readings of ministers may challenge the same: the world is full of George of Warwick, William of Cloudslee, Skoggins' and Wolner's jests, and writing of like quality: and therein men take great delight to read, and so make themselves merry with other men's sins, bestowing to this purpose much vain time and superfluous expense.

After leaving Lincoln Smyth spent two or three years in meditation and study. His mind had come to be deeply exercised over the warfare that had now become a raging conflict between the Church of England and the Puritans. Some Puritans stayed within the Established Church; some had already broken their relations with it and become "Separatists."

There were thus three religious parties in England, the Establishment, the dissenting Romanists, and the dissenting Puritans. In 1606 we find Smyth taking his stand very definitely as a Puritan leader. His counsel was sought by some of the great Puritan nobles of the time. He settled in Gainsborough, and in order to provide for himself a livelihood he practised as a physician. This seems rather a startling performance, for he had no medical training with the possible exception of some lectures at Cambridge; but we must remember that there was at that time no special course of instruction for doctors, and any one with a smattering of medical knowledge was allowed to exercise his gifts.

Early biographers have described John Smyth as the Vicar of Gainsborough, but the statement is erroneous. The Vicar, Jerome Phillips, was efficient in collecting the revenues of his office, but he discharged none of its duties. Smyth boldly stepped into his place, read the lessons, and expounded the Scriptures, in order that the people might have spiritual food. This naturally caused trouble, and the trouble drove Smyth still farther from the ways and methods of the Church.

Various events forced upon his mind the necessity of settling the dilemma of conformity to the Church or separation from its fold. He believed that the Church of England was corrupt and satisfied, that its clergy and its worship were formal and lifeless, and that reformation was impossible. So he decided to "depart out of Babylon." In this decision he was supported by Thomas Helwys, afterward the pastor of the first Baptist Church to be formed in England.

Soon after this he was approached by certain Brethren of the Separation, living in Suffolk, asking for advice. His reply, which was published in 1629, laid down four fundamental propositions: Churches should consist of saints only. Each church should elect, approve, and ordain its own ministers. Worship should be spiritual and not limited by prescribed forms. Each church should be governed by a college of pastors.

Of these four statements the first three constitute a vital pronunciamento. They may be said to embody the elementary principles of non-conformity.

They are radical enough to suit the most enthusiastic separatist. They are amazingly clear, succinct, and challenging. The utterance of them decided John Smyth's future career. But more than this, they are the Magna Charta of the free churches. John Smyth was the author and founder of English Non-conformity.

Like the valiant dissenting leaders who had preceded him in other parts of Europe, Smyth became at this time a devout and constant student of the Scriptures. From them he evolved a Covenant which he made the basis of the free church he later organized at Gainsborough. This Covenant "shooke of this yoake of antichristian bondage," and those who entered into it "as the Lord's free people, joined themselves into a church estate, in the fellowship of the gospel, to walk in all his ways, according to their best endeavors, whatsoever it should cost them, the Lord assisting them."

Two towns lay near together, north and west of the city of Lincoln. These were Gainsborough and the village of Scrooby. Both played an important part in the early experiences of the Separatists. Within their borders were organized the pioneer free churches of England, that at Gainsborough by John Smyth and his friend Thomas Helwys, in 1606, that at Scrooby in 1607 or 1608, by Smyth, William Bradford, and others. Smyth was the leader in the founding of both these famous churches. To Scrooby came also John Robinson, soon to be closely associated with the guidance of the passage overseas to Holland. Joseph Hall, writing to Robinson, de-

scribes Smyth as "Your partner and your guide: M. Smith and his shaddow. . . Master Smith your oracle and generall." To have been the partner, guide, oracle, and general of men like the distinguished John Robinson and Governor Bradford, indicates the greatness of the man.

Smyth renounced his Episcopal ordination and was ordained by the church at Gainsborough. Robinson, suspended from the Episcopal ministry, became Smyth's assistant, with special charge of the Scrooby group. Prosecutions in the courts, and persecutions in various places, caused the Separatists to realize that only bitterness and woe would be their portion in England. So two emigrations to Holland were successfully carried out, one under Smyth's leadership, the other under that of Thomas Helwys.

Holland was chosen for two reasons. There was larger chance of religious freedom there than in any other country in Europe, or in any British dominion. The rule of Spain in the United Netherlands had become feeble and was soon to cease, and the House of Orange had shown itself to be nobly attached to the principle of liberty of worship for men of all religious faiths. Also, Smyth's devoted friend and his former tutor at Cambridge, Francis Johnson, was the minister of a Separatist church at Amsterdam, composed chiefly of refugees from London.

Amsterdam was the world's chief center of real religious freedom at the time of which we write. It was also renowned for its learning. Authors, dramatists, and theologians dwelt within its gates. Great merchants were prominent in its business life; it

JOHN SMYTH

Puritan

was one of the principal commercial cities of the time; its vessels visited all ports in pursuit of trade. The Dutch East India Company had recently been formed, and the Dutch ships sailed the high seas, bringing riches to the home land.

The little company of English Separatists settled in a group of homes with a central hall, set together by the riverside. Here they followed a semicommunal system, meeting in the great hall for meals and worship. Smyth carried on his work as a physician, ministering to the sick without fee or reward, and displaying a kindliness of spirit that won him many admirers. A friend of his tells how on one occasion he even gave the cloak he was wearing to a needy patient.

Within a few years there came to be four groups of English Separatists in Amsterdam. One of these formed the First or "Ancient" Church, under the ministry of Francis Johnson, who had been Smyth's tutor at Christ's College, Cambridge, and had become a Separatist at great personal sacrifice. The Second Church comprised the Gainsborough exiles; of this John Smyth was the leader. A third group, chiefly from Norfolk, was headed by John Robinson and drew also to its membership a few of the Gainsborough people. This was the Pilgrim Church, the most of whose congregation became afterward the "Mayflower" passengers, who sailed for America in 1620. Finally, a fourth group was instituted after Smyth and Helwys parted company.

Johnson and the Ancient Church soon came to points of difference with Smyth and the Second

Church. The differences concerned the matters of church government and church-membership. Johnson recognized the offices of pastor, teacher, deacon, deaconess, and three types of elders. Smyth had come to believe that there should be but two orders of officers, those of pastor and deacon. The latter view has in later times been generally adopted by Baptists and Congregationalists. Again, Johnson was inclined to hold, in obedience to the custom of centuries, that the laity should have no voice in church government, while Smyth contended for that democratic system which affirmed the equal right of all members in such government.

On another question also there was definite disagreement. Johnson held that all adult believers who were received into church fellowship, together with their children, constituted a church. Smyth contended, on logical and Scriptural grounds, that children of members had no such rights, and that only a regenerate company, composed entirely of believers, was a true church of Jesus Christ.

Thus John Smyth became a radical leader, and the chief exponent of the great truth of a pure and regenerate church. His principles, which he supported by his practise, were accepted instantly by various groups and spread rapidly by reason of their Scriptural character. Churches were formed in many places. The newly discovered teaching soon spread to England, and John Smyth became the founder of the Baptist denomination, the oldest of the Free Church denominations, in England.

A regenerate church was a church made up of

persons who had repented of their sins and in full faith accepted Jesus Christ as Lord and Saviour. This New Testament idea of the church was violated by every church which by baptism received unconscious infants into its fold, since multitudes of these infants, growing into wicked and dissolute maturity, still remained members of the so-called Church of Christ.

John Smyth, his keen mind and logical habit of thought guided by Holy Scripture into a knowledge of the truth, preached the sane and wholesome doctrine of a regenerate church. This view was adopted by some of the Separatists who were members of the Ancient Church, and by Johnson's orders they were excommunicated. The influence of the Anabaptists, and especially of the Mennonite branch of that faith, was being widely felt. So, always ready to follow proved truth with practical action, Smyth declared himself freely and forcibly.

On a half sheet of paper Smyth communicated his convictions concerning this matter, in two propositions, to Richard Clifton, formerly an Anglican clergyman but at that time a member of the Ancient Church in Amsterdam. First, infants are not to be baptized. Secondly, antichristians, or conventional Christians who have been baptized in infancy, are to be received into a true church by baptism if they show proofs of repentance and faith. Clifton replied to these propositions, and a vigorous debate between the two Separatists ensued.

According to Smyth's view it was necessary for the church of which he was pastor to disband, since

it was not organized in all respects as a New Testament church. So he and the deacons resigned, the church avowed itself no true church, and its members thus stood as private individuals, unbaptized. These were startling measures.

Then Smyth proposed that Helwys, his assistant, should baptize these "Antichristians now converted." He declined, deferring to Smyth as the spiritual leader. So Smyth first baptized himself, and then proceeded to baptize Helwys and the others. Thus they prepared the way for the immediate formation of a genuine New Testament church, composed of persons who had been baptized on profession of their repentance and faith in Jesus Christ, and just such a church they organized.

Because he had baptized himself, Smyth was known henceforth as the "Se-Baptist," and the term was used by his opponents as a title of derision. It is well to notice that the method employed by him was undoubtedly that of affusion, in other words, that of sprinkling or pouring. It has been definitely established, as the result of the most careful research, that the Baptists of Holland did not practise baptism by immersion until 1620, nor those of England until 1641.

The practise amongst the Mennonites and almost universally amongst the Anabaptists of the Continent, was that of affusion. With all of these bodies the mode or form was regarded as secondary; their main contention concerned the subjects of baptism rather than the form. This contention involved personal and spiritual elements, and looked toward the

formation of truly regenerate churches, composed of adult believers. It was long before Baptists arrived at the conviction that immersion alone was the Scriptural form of baptism.

Certainly John Smyth had gone far in his pilgrimage. First a churchman of the approved type, he had later become a Puritan, and then a Puritan of the Separatist persuasion, holding gradually more and more advanced views, until now he had at last reached firm standing-ground as a Baptist. It has been said of him that he was always changing his position. This charge is a correct description, but it should also be said that he was forever going forward. His preaching was guided by the outer and the inner Word, the Holy Scriptures and the Holy Spirit.

The action of the church and its pastor created an immense commotion amongst the Separatists and others. To reject infant baptism, to demand what was regarded as re-baptism, and to sanction the pastor's re-baptism of himself, were innovations which linked the church with the Anabaptists and called for heavy condemnation. Smyth stood calm and unafraid in presence of the indictments which were hurled against him.

Yet he had gone only one step further than his fellow Separatists. They affirmed that ordination in the Church of England had no significance since that church was not constituted on the New Testament model; he said that since there was no true baptism in the Church of England it also amounted to nothing. They were illogical; he was logical. They were

afraid to follow their argument to its just conclusions; he had the courage of his convictions.

After three centuries the matter cannot be put more clearly than in the words of Rev. Joseph Hall, formerly of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, to John Robinson: "Either you must go forward to Anabaptism or come back to us. All your Rabbins cannot answer that charge of your re-baptized brother; if we be a true church you must return, if we be not ... you must re-baptize. If our baptism is good then is our constitution good."

But John Robinson and the Pilgrim Church did not return; neither did they go forward; and those who took the long journey to New England settled down into a complacent dependence upon the State Establishment. The teachings of John Smyth, on the other hand, were perpetuated amongst the Baptist churches which soon came to be organized in London and in other parts of England, and his complete exposition of the nature and functions of a regenerate church is accepted today by the millions of Baptists who dwell in America.

With his name is rightly associated that of Helwys. They worked together in fellowship until after the organization of the new Baptist Church. Then Smyth, who had inquired carefully about the views of the Mennonites, found that these agreed with his own positions, so he made overtures looking to union. To Helwys it seemed that these negotiations were fraught with peril. The two friends drew apart, and two small churches resulted. Plans to fuse with the Mennonites fell through, but the two

little churches remained apart. After Mr. Smyth's death his church and the Mennonites united, since their teachings were practically identical.

It should be said further that Thomas Helwys became convinced that it was his duty to witness for his faith in his homeland, even at the risk of imprisonment and death. So he and the members of his church returned to England and formed in London the first Baptist church to be established there. It became the mother of all the General Baptist churches in England. Strong men sprang up in the midst of these growing groups and gave to posterity a rich body of literature on the great theme of liberty of conscience. So, though Smyth was the originator of the Baptist protest in Holland and England and may be termed the liberator, Helwys was the one who brought back the challenge to Britain's shores, and urged it with irresistible boldness.

What lofty character, what serene courage, what clear vision of elemental human rights these two old-time Baptist leaders possessed! It was Thomas Helwys who dared to say: "The King is a mortal man and not God, he therefore hath no power over the immortal souls of his subjects, to make laws and ordinances for them and to set spiritual lords over them. If the King have authority to make spiritual lords and laws, then he is an immortal God and not a mortal man."

In the Confession of Faith written by John Smyth are these other words, worthy to be recorded amongst the utterances of priceless worth: "The magistrate is not by virtue of his office to meddle

with religion or matters of conscience, to force or compel men to this or that form of religion or doctrine, but to leave the Christian religion free to every man's conscience . . . for Christ only is the king and lawgiver of the church and conscience."

The last three years of John Smyth's life were crowded with activities of many kinds. As pastor, teacher, author, physician, and friend he wrought in such fashion that he won the loving admiration of Dutch and English alike. He published several books expounding his religious views, and several controversial treatises which move on a high plane and are always courteous to his opponents.

This man of high purpose and striking individuality, died at Amsterdam on the first day of September, 1612. Long before that the insidious disease, consumption, had marked him for its own. The climate of the Low Countries aggravated the trouble. During the last seven weeks of his life he spent his time in sweet and helpful ministries to his wife, his children, and his friends. He passed away in the full triumph of a Christian saint and hero, his last words being, "I praise the Lord, he hath now holpen me, and hath taken away my sins."

He was about forty-six years of age at the time of his death, but the influence of his mighty protest in behalf of a return to the simplicities and sincerities of the apostolic church, and to New Testament ideals, has continued to be felt through all succeeding generations. Undergirding his entire teaching of the true nature of the church lay his insistent emphasis upon the principles of freedom of con-

science and the independence of every individual group of baptized believers. These principles became to him a veritable charter of faith and in them he rejoiced with great joy.

Alike in his writings, his preaching, and his practical activities, he showed himself a bold thinker. He loved to follow things through to their conclusions. He was the first Englishman to plead for freedom of conscience, and he uttered the plea at the peril of his own freedom. Keenness of discernment was conjoined with a daring vigor of expression. He was a scholar, but most scholars are timid and careful in the setting forth of their thought. His unusual scholarship is attested by those who knew him. One speaks of him as a scholar, a wide reader, and experienced in the arts; another as possessing "able gifts," while one of his severest critics describes him as "a man of right eminent parts."

A bold thinker arouses opposition, and Smyth aroused plenty of it. Yet in his debates and wordy battles he was always master of himself, and always fair to those with whom he disagreed. In addition to this his arguments have a cogency and his reasoning a sound logical development, which make them easily understandable, even if not convincing to his antagonists.

His originality of mind appears in all that he wrote, and he wrote much. His intellectual audacity exposed him to the assaults of the conservatives of his day. He was unconventional in a time of slavish conventions. He had no taste for ritual observance or ceremonial practise. His contempt for the con-

ventions and the beaten track might have brought him into grave difficulty had he not been essentially sane and constructive in his thinking. As it was he blazed new trails which led by straight courses to the land of truth.

Always he proved himself a persuasive leader. It is said that his personality was attractive; men were eager to follow where he led. He had that subtle force, that dynamic nervous energy, which tends to make a man the center of every group which he enters, the outstanding individual in any company. He did not always lead in the wisest fashion, but he acted according to the light which he had himself received.

He organized the Gainsborough church. He organized the expedition which traveled from England to Holland. He organized the church of which he became pastor in Amsterdam. Through the Covenant which he wrote before leaving English soil, he drew many Separatists together, and brought order out of confusion. His influence over Thomas Helwys led to the organization of the earliest Baptist churches in England. Here and there he met failure, but he had the rare gift of self-detachment, and when a plan met with disaster, he lost no time in regrets or gloom, but shrugged his shoulders and went on to different and larger undertakings.

Few people are interested in the matter of infant baptism or its significance. But most Christian people are interested in the question of a pure and free and regenerate church. Or they ought to be. Now Smyth's elaborate arguments against infant baptism

were in the nature of a propædeutic. Though seemingly negative in their nature, they led inevitably to the positive teaching of a regenerate church; and they involved also the doctrine of a free church.

So in our day, even much more than in his, the advocates of religious liberty in all its noble phases as in all its glorious evolution, look back with gratitude to the pioneer labors of John Smyth. He was the heroic exponent of a larger and more democratic spiritual order than is possible under any form of churchly overlordship.

His private life and personal character were at all times beyond reproach. Although strong in his own opinions, and often aggressive in his defense of the position he had taken, there is no slightest mark of self-admiring egotism. He lived for others. He moved his residence from England to Holland because of the hope of larger opportunities for service and free speech in the land overseas; but we are expressly told that he had no love for travel or adventure. He was a man greatly beloved. He had "a remarkable power of winning affection." His longtime friend and coworker, Thomas Helwys, said of him after his death, that his comrades were ready to leave all to follow him because of "those most excellent gifts and graces of God that did abound in him; and all our love was too little for him, and not worthy of him."

He represented the essential English stock. John Smith is the ultimate Englishman, and this John Smith, or Smyth, was a fine type of that great body of English people whose humble sturdiness and abid-

ing common sense have made the nation what it is today. But he was vastly more than a member of a group. He was a fine, clean, upstanding man, whose place was always in the van of intellectual and moral progress and spiritual triumph. Very loyal he was, a man of high ideals, and he gave much to all men whom he met. There is no indication that he ever swerved from the strict line of duty, yet duty was ever suffused with the spirit of love.

In spite of the somewhat restricted field of his immediate labors he possessed what the modern publicist calls "the international mind." Nearly two hundred years before the beginnings of the foreign missionary enterprise he had the missionary vision. He was deeply interested in evangelizing efforts of every kind. He advocated the Christian duty of bringing to a knowledge of the truth the Jews, the Turks, and all barbarian peoples. He emphasized the need for providing Christianizing agencies along with trade relationships, in the case of distant nations. He had the world-vision.

The testimony of Mandell Creighton is impressive. Dr. Creighton was professor of Ecclesiastical History in Cambridge University, and he thus records his estimate of the man: "None of the English Separatists had a finer mind or a more beautiful soul than John Smyth. None of them succeeded in expressing with so much reasonableness and consistency their aspirations after a spiritual system of religious beliefs and practise. None of them founded their opinions on so large and liberal a basis."

VI

JOHN BUNYAN

Dreamer

JOHN BUNYAN: 1628–1688

I. Bunyan a Preacher and Liberator:

II. Struggling Toward the Light:

1. Birth and ancestry.
2. Boyhood days and waywardness.
3. Influence of his first wife.
4. Youthful religious experiences.
5. Change wrought by conversion.

III. The Lay Preacher:

1. A man of mark.
2. Five years of noble ministry.
3. Three lines of activity.

IV. Twelve Years in Prison:

1. Arrest at a service of worship.
2. The Non-conformist jailed.
3. Pleadings of his wife for his release.
4. Four prison occupations; making laces; study of the Word; ministry to others; authorship.

V. Period of Free Activity:

1. Released from jail; call to pastorate.
2. A humble church; a holy task.
3. The man who did all things well.
4. Qualities of leadership.
5. His famous allegories.

VI. Closing Scenes:

1. A journey of intercession.
2. Death and burial.
3. The Man of God.
   (1) A moulder of men.
   (2) A beloved pastor.
   (3) A model of Christian manhood.
   (4) A soldier of Liberty.
   (5) A Christlike soul.

JOHN BUNYAN

Dreamer

Baptist history records the names of many vigorous fighters for righteousness and many outstanding prophets of religious liberty. The rank and file of Baptist people have been followers in the footsteps of these leaders, contending for a pure and Scriptural faith and for the freedom of the human conscience.

John Bunyan was a stout and unterrified preacher of righteousness. He was also a stalwart apostle of freedom in faith, conscience, and worship. The present age honors him chiefly for his authorship of the most popular religious book that any man has ever written in the entire history of the Christian church. Besides this, students and critics revere his memory because he was the mightiest preacher of his day, and because he was also the pioneer witness in England to the glorious doctrine of spiritual freedom.

The story of his early life, in its outer incidents, is soon told. He was born in the village of Elstow, one mile from the town of Bedford, in November, 1628; and he was the son of a poor tinker. His family had dwelt in the same district of England for more than four hundred years. In the fertile and comfortable Bedfordshire country he lived for his full lifetime. Here he met all of his major ex-

periences, as sinner and saint, workman and writer, prisoner and pastor. His warm and affectionate nature always went out in loving loyalty to this land of his birth. He was a thorough Englishman, and he never set foot on other than English soil.

In boyhood days he gave little promise of the splendid manhood of his later years. He left school when he could barely read and write, and the few things that he learned he soon forgot. A handsome lad, very rough but very attractive, generous and kindly but full of mischief and thoroughly irresponsible, he might have developed into a charming Absalom or a fascinating Alcibiades, had not God laid hold upon his conscience and changed the tenor of his life.

Over-brimming with vibrant activity, always in the vanguard of the village sports and gaieties, winning others by his natural force and fearlessness, he drew a group of other boys about him and became the ring-leader of the "gang." He snapped his fingers at rules and authority. He was soon known in the village, and throughout the neighboring town of Bedford, as a lawless lad, who would surely come to some bad end. He was an adept at swearing, blaspheming, and lying. He worked for some hours each day in his father's tinker-shop; the rest of the time he gave to such evil practises as the leadership of a crowd of reckless youth involves. To his credit it should be said that he refrained from the vices of drunkenness and uncleanness.

At sixteen he was off to the war, where he served for more than two years in the army of Cromwell.

Then he returned to continue his wayward habits. At nineteen he married, his girl-bride bringing no dowry with her save two good books and her own sweet and gentle nature. John Bunyan loved her dearly, and it was then that his wildness began to give place to decency. To please his young wife he allowed her to read to him the two small volumes that were her sole possession. In the living room of their tiny home she spelled out to him the words upon the page, and so almost unconsciously the soul of John Bunyan began to be wrought upon by heavenly considerations.

For the books were no light or flashy romances. One of them was Dent's *Plain Man's Pathway to Heaven,* and the other was Bishop Bayley's *Practice of Piety,* both of them great favorites with the religious people of the time. We cannot imagine that the roistering young husband, who had no interest in the learning of books, nor in matters of religion, was altogether enamored of the teaching in these books, but he liked to watch the winsome face of his wife, and he listened as she read.

Soon his deportment began to change. He dressed himself respectably and attended the parish church twice every Sunday, joining with glee in the singing of the hymns. He was becoming æsthetically devout, but his profanities and lawlessness continued. Church in the morning, boisterous sports in the afternoon, and church again in the evening; so the conventions were respected, his wife was pleased, and his own conscience was satisfied—he was rather proud of having become a "churchman."

After a time there came a memorable day when he was roused completely from his easy-going state. It all happened in a natural way and through appeal to a dominant interest, his love of sports. On a certain Sunday morning the clergyman preached a searching sermon against the sin of Sabbath-breaking. John Bunyan was startled at the solemn words. He walked home, pondering deeply. Before he had finished his dinner, however, the impression seemed to fade away.

He was playing tip-cat that afternoon. Just as he had struck the "cat" or ball a blow from the hole he heard a voice dart from heaven into his soul, crying, "Wilt thou leave thy sins and go to heaven, or have thy sins and go to hell?" Instantly he left the cat on the ground, and gazing upward he saw with the eyes of his understanding the Lord Jesus looking down upon him, and seeming hotly displeased. His heart sank with despair. Then he thought, "If it be too late for me to repent, I had as good be damned for many sins as to be damned for few." So he returned desperately to his game.

This vivid experience was the beginning of the conversion process. The struggle was a long and terrible one, extending over more than five years. He has told us all about it in his *Grace Abounding to the Chief of Sinners*, which is one of the three or four greatest autobiographies ever written. No man could be more torn and wounded in spirit than was he. The grim Puritan theology of the time had its effect in rendering more acute the periodical feeling of utter worthlessness and rejection at God's hands.

Under the pressure of "fightings without and fears within" he sometimes almost reached the verge of insanity. He ran the whole gamut of human emotions from profound despair to ecstatic joy, again and again. At last he was persuaded that the grace of Jesus Christ was sufficient for all his needs, and he yielded himself completely, with blessed relief and exultation of heart, to his Redeemer.

Behold then a man entirely remade! The indifference and truculency, the wildness and vulgarity, the waste and purposelessness of life, are all gone. There appears in their stead a man who stands "four-square to all the winds that blow," filled with an unconquerable ambition to do the will of God in all things and to spend himself freely for others. He is baptized in the River Ouse by Rev. John Gifford and unites with the humble Baptist church in Bedford, of which Gifford is the pastor.

At once he becomes a marked man in the midst of the congregation. His rare gift for leadership, evinced in his headship of his cronies in boyhood, now shows itself in fine fashion in the spiritual fellowship of the church. His natural common sense enables him to minister to the needs of those who come to him for counsel. His untiring study of God's Word, which has now become a master-passion, is reflected in his clear exposition of the Scriptures in the informal meetings of the church. Soon some of his fellow members approach him on a weighty subject: Why should he not become a preacher of the gospel?

At first his modesty and his sense of the sublim-

ity of the high calling of the ministry hold him back. The people urge the matter. After much prayer he undertakes the work, and at once the seal of Divine approbation is set upon his ministry, in the conversion of souls through his preaching. Thenceforward for five full years he exercises his gifts throughout the country surrounding Bedford, though without relinquishing his trade as a tinker or brazier.

The idle and worthless boy has become the busy man of affairs, calm yet strenuous, his words and actions radiant with the glow of Christian love. He follows three lines of activity. He goes from house to house, mending kettles and pans. He converses in friendly earnestness with all men whom he meets, on matters that concern the higher things of life. He preaches in the evenings, walking sometimes twelve or fifteen miles to reach his appointments. He becomes one of the pioneers of open-air preaching in England. Wherever he speaks crowds throng to listen to his words. He is also one of the very earliest of England's lay preachers, though the number of such preachers has long since grown into a noble army of men.

During the days of the Commonwealth he continues to preach without let or hindrance. Then the period of freedom ends. On May 29, 1660, Charles II landed in England and swiftly assumed the pomp and magnificence of royal power. Six months later, John Bunyan was arrested and thrown into prison. It was a quiet evening in November. A goodly company of people were gathered in a farmer's house at Lower Samsell. When the preacher of the eve-

ning arrived the master of the house took him aside and told him that there were rumors abroad that the meeting would be broken up by officers of the law, and that he would be arrested. He advised him to dismiss the assembly and return to his home.

John Bunyan the Christian never played the coward. The element of cowardice had no place whatsoever in his courageous and consecrated career. With a quiet smile he puts aside the remonstrances of his host and of others who have added their protest. "No!" he says in answer, "by no means. I will not stir, neither will I have the meeting dismissed for this. Come, be of good cheer! Let us not be daunted. Our cause is good. We need not be ashamed of it. To preach God's Word is so good a work that we shall be rewarded even if we suffer for it."

The service of prayer and praise commences. Almost at once it is interrupted. The officers of the law, a constable and the assistant to the local justice, Sir Francis Wingate, present their mandate for the preacher's arrest. The worshipers are quick to interfere, but John Bunyan counsels them to offer no opposition, and goes forth with his captors. They proceed to Wingate's home but find that he is absent, so the prisoner is permitted to stay for the night at a friend's home.

Next morning he appears before Justice Wingate, in charge of the constable. There are two counts in the indictment against him: He has "called the people together" in order to preach to them, whereas he possesses no license or authority to in-

dulge in preaching; and he has failed to attend regularly the ritualistic services of the Established Church. Now, will he promise to abstain from thus calling the people together in conventicles, and will he promise to conduct himself properly by attending church?

No, he will give neither promise. In full face of the pleadings of his friends and the threat of vengeance on the part of his foes, he stands upon the elemental right of spiritual freedom. He will not forego this spiritual birthright for all the jails that men can build, nor for all the tortures that men can inflict. God has called him to be a preacher, and preach he will, in spite of all threats and dangers, in spite of all the devils in hell. Wingate and those who are with him seek in various subtle ways to extract from him a promise to conform, but he is an unpersuadable and unconquerable non-conformist. So his fate is sealed.

Temporary sentence is pronounced by Wingate, and this sentence is confirmed at the quarter session of the judge of assizes seven weeks later. He is then condemned to prison for three months, with the provision that if at the end of that time he should still refuse to conform he would be banished from the shores of England, and if he should thereafter return he would be put to death.

Why he was not banished at the end of three months instead of being kept in prison for twelve years, we do not know. The possibility of banishment and of death hung over him like a thick cloud during all the remaining years of his life. But that

glorious man would not conform, could not conform, would never have conformed. The twofold right of free speech and freedom to worship God in his own way and according to the dictates of his own conscience, was elemental in his thought.

He lived under the Stuart kings, and they were desperate haters of the Dissenting groups. No Nonconformist ever knew what lay around the next corner. John Bunyan rather expected during many years that a violent death would end his period of bondage. He had no faith in the mercy of his persecutors, yet not for a single moment did he flinch in his magnificent assertion of his right to declare the whole counsel of God, as Christ's ambassador.

He spent six years in jail. Then he was released for a short period. Then he was again thrown into jail and continued as a prisoner for six years more. Three years after his second release he was committed to jail for a term of six months. At the time of his first detention his wife made piteous and most noble efforts for his release. His first wife had died in 1625, leaving him with four little children. He had married again four years later. It was this second wife, soon to become a mother, who pleaded for mercy with hard-hearted and insolent judges. She even visited London and importuned members of the House of Lords in behalf of her husband, but all in vain.

Thus for more than twelve years, just one-fifth of his entire life, John Bunyan was a prisoner. He did not languish nor complain, nor did he spend his time in idleness. He had four very variant occu-

pations, and to these he gave himself with devotion. He was allowed to earn something to help support his family, who were in dire poverty. For this purpose he took up the business of making long tagged laces, and worked diligently at this dull and monotonous task day by day through the years. It must have taken a great many of those long tagged laces to support a family of five, but he did it.

His second occupation, which was by no means secondary, was the study of God's Word. He must have learned the Bible almost by heart! Certainly no man has ever known it more thoroughly in all its parts and in all its teachings. From the days of his fierce wrestling with sin to the last day of his life, the Bible was to him the book of joy, the book of power, the revelation of God's heart and will.

Another of his prison duties brought exceeding refreshment to his soul. He ministered to the inmates of the prison. They made him a sort of father confessor, consulting him about themselves, their ills and their hopes. He was ever a kindly soul, and he entered into fellowship with the needs of those about him, as a ministering angel might. The prison was a seventeenth-century prison, which meant filth and stench and all unwholesomeness. It was the county jail, and murderers, thieves, and vagabonds were lodged there, though there were also some prisoners for conscience' sake, high-minded souls of spiritual kin to the Dreamer himself. With all of these, both good and evil, he conferred, seeking ever to mediate the Master's mercy.

The ministry of preaching was also allowed him

JOHN BUNYAN

Dreamer

at times. Thus, not only to individuals, but to the prison group, he uttered words of life. Very different it was from the shady groves under God's blue sky, and the sunny homesteads along the countryside, this preaching of the Word to prisoned souls within prison walls. To the strong-limbed, big-hearted son of the soil, with his passion for freedom and his love for the open air, the contrast must at times have been very painful, but he thanked God for the chance to declare his name, and he wrought for the redemption of lost souls.

His fourth and most profitable occupation was the writing of books. When he was twenty years old he was ignorant and illiterate, having no book knowledge, and without any desire for an education. After his conversion things moved rapidly with him in every way. When he was twenty-nine he published his first book, *Some Gospel Truths Opened,* and three others followed before his imprisonment. These had a wide sale and gave him a name, and some standing as an author. The year after he entered Bedford jail he published his fifth book, *Profitable Meditations,* and within the years of his first imprisonment he wrote and sent forth nine volumes. The next term of six years yielded only two. Probably his return to his place of detention, with little hope of final release, and the weariness of the dragging years, together with the lack of stimulus from daily outdoor contact with men and things, had their heavily depressing effect. At any rate, six lean years followed the six fat years.

One of the lessons to be learned from John Bun-

yan's imprisonments is that it is impossible to crush a free and victorious spirit. He transformed his years of bondage into years of conquest. From his sordid kennel of confinement he sent forth book after book, every one of which bears the mark of a heart-thrilling communion with God and the most careful study of his Holy Word. At last his body as well as his soul was free. In 1672 Charles II issued his Declaration of Indulgence, and the prison doors were opened.

Greatly at that time did the crafty Charles II desire the favor of the Dissenters. Within a few months three thousand of their ministers were licensed to preach. One of the very first of these was granted to John Bunyan, four months before his formal pardon. Perhaps the happy fact of his release was not so unexpected when it happened, or perhaps faith had outrun knowledge and prophesied pardon. However this may be, the fact remains that the Baptist church in Bedford had, in the preceding January, chosen the famous prisoner, the beloved Dreamer, to be its pastor. At that time he had been released for a few hours on parole by his jailer; and "giving himself up to serve Christ and his church in that charge, had received of the elders the right hand of fellowship."

Out into the sunshine came John Bunyan, out into a concourse of cheering friends, out into the pastorate of his own home church in the midst of the people who had long since learned to love the lion-hearted Pilgrim. The church to whose head he had been summoned worshiped in no lofty cathedral.

He would have felt sadly ill-at-ease amid stately corridors and echoing transepts, following the ceremonials of an ornate ritual. His church was an old barn in an orchard, that had been purchased by Josias Roughead for the use of the congregation. In this rude shelter, which speedily became a rallying-point for crowds of happy worshipers, John Bunyan thundered forth the mighty message of salvation.

The great Pilgrim himself was now forty-three years of age, in the very prime of his manly vigor. His mind functioned freely and with singular effectiveness. His heart was on fire with a consuming passion to save the souls of men. Before him stretched years of promise. He seems to have been entirely free from jumping nerves and prison pallor. He was equipped for his holy task. He faced his Great Chance with abounding joy. During the next sixteen years he filled life full to overflowing.

He performed an enormous task. Except for another brief term of six months in jail in 1675 these were free and fertile years, crowded with productive energies of every sort. He wrote many books—fifty-three volumes altogether during his lifetime. He preached without cessation, in Bedford, in all the country round about, and frequently in London. He counseled, helped, and reconstructed human lives. His labors grew more abundant with each succeeding year. He lived in his work and he worked for humanity.

John Bunyan stood at the head and front of every undertaking in which he was engaged. James An-

thony Froude tells us that it was impossible for Bunyan to write poorly. It was also impossible for him to preach poorly, and he became the greatest preacher of his age. We have abundant testimony to the fact that as administrator and pastor it was impossible for him to serve men poorly; his church grew steadily and splendidly under the wise guidance of his directing eye.

John Bunyan did all things well. He was by nature a leader. It was so when he gathered about him the boys of his town, leading them in mischief and depredation. It was so when he went forth into the fields to preach. It was so in the case of the sinners and saints in prison, who waited upon his aid and comfort. It was so triumphantly in the expanding years of his later life, when all of England looked to the stalwart figure of the man from Bedford, as the very embodiment of the Non-conformist spirit, in courage, in conscience, and in life.

It was during the short term of later imprisonment that he began to write his masterpiece, *The Pilgrim's Progress.* It was published in 1678, and the second part in 1685. It is a world's book. It has been translated into more than a hundred languages. It occupies a place unique, unchallenged, in the religious literature of mankind.

The story sets forth, under the guise of an allegory, the journey of its hero, Christian, from the City of Destruction to the Celestial City; and depicts his experiences by the way. The second part recounts the incidents that befall his wife, Christiana, together with her children and Mercy, her friend,

in a similar adventurous journey. It need not be described in these pages in detail, for it is still a book that is read and reread in every Christian home. It is not the book of an hour, or "the book of the month"; it belongs to the generations and the centuries.

Lord Chancellor Campbell, in his great work on the Lives of the Lord Chief Justices of England, departs from his subject long enough to say of John Bunyan:

> Inspired by him who touched Elijah's hallowed lips with fire, he composed the noblest of allegories, the merit of which was first discovered by the lowly, but which is now lauded by the most profound critics, and which has done more to awaken piety and to enforce the precepts of Christian morality than all the sermons that have been published by all the prelates of the Anglican Church.

We may forgive this author for mixing up Elijah and Isaiah in view of the solid truth of his high and well-deserved tribute to a man who belonged to another Communion than his own.

Two other allegories came from his pen. One was *The Holy War* and the other *The Life and Death of Mr. Badman.* These have been widely read, and have passed through scores of editions. It has been said that had he not written *Pilgrim's Progress,* his *Holy War* would stand as the greatest allegory of all time. In all of these works he caused abstract principles to vibrate and take on personality, to live and breathe and move amongst men. It may be added that in just the same fashion his public preaching caused truth to flash with light, to burn with

fire, to take hold of the hearts and consciences of men with subtle and empowering energy.

The last days of the inspired Dreamer were his best days, for he was very greatly beloved. The closing scene in his life's history was pathetic and beautiful. He had ridden on horseback from Bedford to Cambridge to intercede with an angry father, and to persuade him to forgive his son, whom he had disowned on account of some dereliction. He was successful in this undertaking. Then he traveled on to London, in face of a pitiless storm, arriving at the home of his friend, John Strudwick, drenched with the rain, chilled to the bone, and completely exhausted.

He should have rested but he never rested. On the following Sunday he preached in the Whitechapel District. He also worked on his last book, *The Acceptable Sacrifice,* and took it to the printers. The fatal fever was in his blood. A few days later, on August 31, 1688, he died at the home of his friend. He was buried in Bunhill Fields, where a handsome monument has been erected to his memory.

We have tried to present, in this study of John Bunyan's life, a threefold portraiture. We see the inimitable writer, the indomitable preacher, the irrepressible Protestant. Is this all that the critic may say? By no means. The qualities that have just been named define John Bunyan as a man of mark who has won the world's regard. They indicate his power as a molder of the minds of men. But they do not reveal to us those other elements of vibrant strength and beauty that he possessed in such rich

measure, the kindly heart, the gracious personality, the humor-loving spirit.

He was the children's friend. He was the valued counselor of all and sundry. He was the wholesome lover of fields and hills, of flowing streams and flower gardens. He was the affectionate and loyal pastor who refused all hearty calls to higher stations in London and elsewhere, remaining forever true to the scenes of his youth and the people of his first and only charge.

That which appeals to one constantly, in considering the varying phases of his life, is his Christian manhood. He was every inch a man, well-poised and splendid in his manliness. Viewing him in many relations and under many conditions, there is nevertheless no slightest sign, on any occasion, of unmanly weakness.

His courage was immense. He failed in naught because he feared none save God, and his fear of God was glorified by perfect love. He looked clear-eyed and unflinching into the face of friend and foe alike. He was a joyous advocate of spiritual freedom. He reveled in "the liberty of the sons of God." He suffered sore persecution for his faith, but he never wavered in his strong defiance of his persecutors nor in his loyal adherence to the principles of religious liberty. He loved and labored that all men might be free.

His humanness becomes even more significant when we take into account the age in which he lived. England at that particular time had great statesmen such as Lord Clarendon and Lord Strafford; great

poets such as Milton and Dryden; great scientists such as Sir Isaac Newton and Harvey; great ecclesiastics such as Archbishop Laud; but England sadly lacked great sympathizers. John Bunyan was a great Sympathizer. He loved men. He suffered with them. He sacrificed for them. He lived for their good. He served them with unselfish spirit. He was moved with compassion for their ills and needs.

The secret of his life lies within, far within. Behind and beneath all other rare qualities was John Bunyan's essential self. His profound spirituality explains all. This was the key to his greatness. He was a thoroughly regenerated being. He was led of the Spirit of God.

We may sometimes wonder that Jesus Christ, the Lord of life and glory, should have spent so much of his time and thought on wayfarers and derelicts, wayside beggars and loathsome lepers. It was because he loved all men and sought to save even the lowest and vilest. So was it here. John Bunyan had the Christlike heart.

VII

ROGER WILLIAMS

Freeman

ROGER WILLIAMS: c. 1604–1676

I. Early New England:
   1. The search for freedom.
   2. The Pilgrims.
   3. The Puritans.
   4. Call for a Reformer.

II. A Stout Protestant:
   1. Roger Williams comes to Boston.
   2. His earlier days; revolt against tyranny.
   3. Life in Boston and Salem.
   4. Visits Plymouth; Brewster and Williams.
   5. Returns to Salem.
      (1) Pastor of First Church.
      (2) Challenges magistrates.
      (3) Approaches Baptist position.
      (4) Under decree of banishment.
      (5) Leaves the colony.

III. The Pioneer of American Freedom:
   1. Personnel of the new colony.
   2. Human rights.
   3. Three phases of Williams' influence.
      (1) The Providence Compact; and its confirmation.
      (2) The first Baptist Church in America.
      (3) The Indians.

IV. Crusade for Liberty at Full Tide:
   1. Obtains Charter in England.
   2. Debates with Cotton on religious liberty.
   3. Visits England with Clarke in interest of colony.
   4. Governor of Rhode Island.

V. The Man:
   1. Always a Baptist in principle.
   2. His unselfishness.
   3. Founder of American democracy.

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A new land lay beyond the sea. In the early part of the seventeenth century America came to be known in England as an area of limitless opportunity. Its open spaces, its freshness and promise, its vast and unexplored resources, appealed to the imagination. Its possibilities of cultivation and rich development excited the ambitions of the younger generation. It offered a chance for that freedom of action which the older countries of Europe denied to independent spirits.

For lovers of religious liberty the New World seemed to offer special attractions. England was groaning under the uncomfortable tyrannies of the Stuart kings. These were exercised with peculiar flagrancy within the spiritual realm. Multitudes of stalwart Puritans, many of them belonging to honorable families, found a way of escape from all the ferment and torment by seeking homes in New England. Chief amongst these groups of pioneers were the Pilgrims, who landed from the Mayflower at Plymouth, and who held in the main to Separatist ideas; and the Massachusetts Bay colonists, who settled in Boston and its vicinity, and who maintained a nominal allegiance to the Church of England.

The Pilgrims of Plymouth and the Puritans of the Bay differed considerably in their attitude toward the question of religious liberty. The Pilgrim body, though coming directly from Holland, consisted chiefly of men and women who had gone from England to Amsterdam and Leyden some years before. Brewster and Bradford and others of the stanch little company had long ago broken with the Established Church, but they had not learned the full lesson of liberty of conscience. This seems strange to us, since they owed their very existence as a church group to the liberty which they had enjoyed in Holland, after they had fled from their English persecutors. Rugged and splendid they were, and genuine lovers of freedom; but they had not reached the Baptist conception of absolute separation of Church and State, nor grasped the idea of the rights of the individual conscience in matters of religious faith.

The Puritans of Boston were far less tolerant than the Pilgrims. They were only partially converted to the idea of independency. They at once proceeded with the setting up of Congregational churches while they continued their connection with the Church of England. They even called that church their "dear mother," although they had abandoned its liturgy and some of its practises. In spite of the fact that their churches were congregational in form and worship, these were under the direction of the civil magistrates, and held within them the same seeds of corruption and tyranny that had caused trouble and rebellion in the Old Country.

The Puritans of New England had a marvelous chance to build upon broad and stable principles a structure of stately spiritual proportions. How woefully they missed their chance! They could have become the mighty pioneers of religious liberty on this new continent. But they chose the narrow policy of a State Church and bigotry. They made the test of specific belief the condition of entrance into the Commonwealth, and of continuance within its borders. They entered upon campaigns of compulsion and punishment for all men whose religious views were different from their own. The ancient order still bound the minds of men, and the old bad rules persisted.

Their churches were established by law; they believed that strict union of Church and State was a political necessity; they limited the voting power in civil affairs to members of the church; they sternly forbade the existence of dissenting churches; they levied taxes on all citizens for the support of the churches of the Standing Order; they persecuted Non-conformists with public whipping, imprisonment, burning, and banishment. The same spirit of reactionary bitterness was manifest in the colony of Virginia.

A stout reformer was needed in those days of foundation-laying and nation-building. Unless a protest were uttered, and vigorously urged, and faithfully continued until victory was won, the horrors of Roman persecution and Anglican intolerance would be repeated in this land of promise, and the blood of " Holy Inquisition " would stain the soil

of the New World. The fair prophecy of spiritual freedom would forever perish. Would God send a deliverer? Could America be saved for liberty and elemental human rights?

The records of the Massachusetts Bay colony contain this significant report, under date of February 5, 1631: "The ship Lyon, Mr. William Pierce master, arrived at Nantasket; She brought Mr. Williams, a godly minister, with his wife, Mr. Throgmorton, and others with their wives and children, about twenty passengers, and about two hundred tons of goods." It was surely by the guidance of Divine Providence that Mr. Roger Williams should have "come to the kingdom for such a time as this." Little did the record clerk or any of his superiors dream, when this formal entry was made, that the "godly minister" who had just arrived, would inaugurate in New England the mightiest movement in behalf of religious liberty that the modern world has known.

Roger Williams was born about the year 1604, probably in the City of London. In boyhood as in manhood his mind was nervously alert. He mastered the method of shorthand which was then for the first time being used in England. One day the Judge of the Star Chamber, Sir Edward Coke, noticed a boy taking notes. He examined his work and found it singularly accurate. At once he showed interest in the lad, and became his friend and patron. He secured his admission to the Charter House School, and afterward to Pembroke College, Cambridge. Here the young man received the degree of Bachelor of Arts in 1627. After studying law for a time,

under the direction of Sir Edward, he was ordained as a clergyman of the Church of England.

He had already revolted against the liturgical element in the Church, and its autocratic demands. The Puritan strain in his character grew constantly stronger. From the first he contended for strict morals and a sincere faith. Feeling the oppression of English religious life, and incensed at the persecutions of Archbishop Laud, he decided to try his fortunes in a more congenial atmosphere. Writing of this matter many years later, he said: "I was in and out of my father's house. Truly it was as bitter as death to me when Bishop Laud pursued me out of the land, and my conscience was persuaded against the national church, and ceremonies and bishops." On December 1, 1630, he took ship at Bristol and after nine weeks and a half arrived in New England.

The long ocean voyage was almost as memorable as that of Judson, nearly two hundred years later. It would seem that sea-trips tend to produce Baptists. He had already been converted from clericalism to extreme Puritanism. His studies and meditations in midocean resulted in his conversion from Puritanism to Separatism, and the seeds of truth that afterward brought forth fruits of freedom were planted in his soul. He was cordially received in Boston and invited to unite at once with the Church of the Standing Order. Indeed, he was offered the position of teacher in the Boston church. Both of these offers he promptly declined, to the bewilderment of the people. Roger Williams was never hesi-

tant about the expression of his convictions, whatever the peril involved in their declaration. So he stated bluntly to Rev. John Wilson, the minister of the Boston Church, that he dared not officiate to an unseparated people.

Why, he said, do you establish on these shores a National Church when you have left your native land in order to be free of the entanglements of a National Church? Why, having separated yourselves in part, do you stop short of that full separation which would mean freedom? By such questions he incurred at the outset the resentment of the authorities, and became a marked man in their midst.

Three months after landing he received a call to the teachership of the church in Salem, the oldest church in the colony. This he accepted. It was more radical in its tendencies than the one in Boston, and leaned toward Separatism. It was under the pastoral care of Mr. Skelton, but the custom in those days was to have a "teacher" as well as a "preacher." Williams was the stronger man of the two, so his influence at once spread through the community, and the church prospered.

His meditations in the midst of the broad spaces of the Atlantic were still bearing fruit. From the Separatist position he went forward. He was denounced as a meddler and mischief-maker, who in a single year had inoculated the town of Salem "with principles of rigid separation, and tending to Anabaptistry." Skelton himself, partly through Williams' teaching, and partly through his own interest in the idea of a free church, had gravitated

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toward the Baptist position, but he halted at the point of decision.

Being a man of liberal fortune Williams was not dependent upon any man or group for his living; so he went forth to seek fresh fields for his campaign of enlightenment. He visited Plymouth, where the Pilgrims, being men of nobler mind and larger heart than the Puritans of the Bay, received him with hearty welcomes. For a little while he assisted the pastor of the Mayflower church, but only for a little while, because the persecuting spirit of the Boston oligarchy sought him out and gossiped against him to Brewster and Bradford.

Old Elder Brewster had known John Smyth in their days of mutual exile in Holland. So, after being warned and threatened by the Boston folk, he made up his mind that if Roger Williams were allowed to remain in Plymouth he would "run the same course of rigid separation and Anabaptistry which Mr. John Smyth, the Baptist at Amsterdam, had done." Therefore Roger Williams had to go.

Mr. Skelton had been failing in health for some time. Salem wanted Williams. He therefore returned to his former charge as teacher, and served after Skelton's death as pastor. With him went quite a company of the Plymouth people who had been greatly blessed by his ministrations, and who willingly sought a new home in order to be near him.

A year of storm and stress followed. The Salem church was splendidly loyal to its leader, but what could be done in face of the determined attitude of the Governor and Council? In October, 1636, Wil-

liams was banished from the colony, and his friends in Salem were roundly condemned for their "offensive" conduct in supporting him. For us the most important count in the indictment against him was his challenge to the magistrates. He contended that the civil magistrates' power extended only to "the bodies and goods and outward state of men"; that they had no business to deal with affairs of the conscience, or to persecute a man for any matter of a spiritual or religious character.

It will be seen that this heroic adventurer was steadily approaching the fundamental Baptist position. The independence of his spirit and the irresistible logic of the argument, had brought him to the very threshold of the glorious doctrine that asserts the Church's right to absolute freedom from the shackles of State control. His banishment settled the matter finally, and he pivoted over to the full Baptist principle of freedom. He had come to the conviction that the theocracy of Massachusetts was not God's infallible government of human souls, but the ignorant meddling of fallible men who pretended to be God's specially elected emissaries. The union of Church and State was to him henceforward a horrid and unnatural fellowship. He valiantly repudiated the spirit of autocracy in the control of spiritual interests, whether it reigned in Rome, in London, or in Boston.

Roger Williams had done a daring and unforgivable deed. The decree of banishment declared that "Mr. Roger Williams, one of the elders of the church of Salem, hath broached and divulged new and dan-

gerous opinions against the authority of the magistrates." It is forever, in the opinion of the magistrates themselves, an abominable action, next in the order of crimes to high treason, to utter any word of criticism against magistrates! The offender must therefore go, as so many men of conscience have gone, before and since his time, out into the wilderness.

Six weeks of grace were allowed him to prepare for his exile. A serious illness barred the way to his departure, however, and by the tender mercies of the Court he was allowed to remain until spring, provided that he abstained from teaching his radical views. Like Hübmaier and Smyth and Bunyan and other princely leaders he could not keep silence. He had taken no oath to keep silence. How could he keep silence when the principles of right and freedom were concerned?

Just as soon as he was well enough to converse and teach, his friends gathered at his home, and he expounded to them his views. The magistrates soon heard of this and agreed that he must be sent back to England. To him anything was better than the oppressions of his native land and the tyrannies of Archbishop Laud. So, while his persecutors were looking about for a ship to carry him overseas, he slipped through their hands and fared forth into the unknown forest solitudes, though still so ill that any sort of travel was extremely difficult.

Alone and unattended he ventured into the bleak solitudes of a rigorous New England winter, to seek for himself a new home. He left Salem in the month

of January, 1636, taking with him a compass, a sundial, and a courageous heart. His compass and sundial may be seen today in the collection of the Rhode Island Historical Society, while his heart and his courageous convictions abide in the life of the American Democracy.

The weather was intensely cold and the ground covered with snow. In his old age he cried, "I bear to this day in my body the effect of that winter's exposure." He shaped his course toward Narragansett Bay, where he was hospitably entertained for a time by the Indians. He had won their confidence during his stay in Plymouth.

In April he made a temporary settlement at Seekonk Cove, and then his wife and two children joined him, and four men from the Massachusetts colony. His second child was only a few months old, and he had given her the significant name of "Freeborn." Of the four men he speaks in this way:

> I gave leave to William Harris, then poor and destitute, to come along in my company. I consented to John Smith, miller at Dorchester (banished also), to go with me, and at John Smith's desire, to a poor young fellow, Francis Wickes, as also a lad of Richard Waterman's.

Note then the human element in the foundations of the illustrious Rhode Island Colony: Roger Williams, two men who were exiles, two young lads, the wife of Williams and two infant children! But during their two months at Seekonk a few old friends from Salem joined the tiny group. In June the leader with six companions crossed the river in a rude Indian canoe, and paddled down as far as the

mouth of the Moshassuck River. They proceeded up this stream to an inviting spot on the east side of the river, where they found a cool spring of fresh water. Here they landed and here they made their settlement, which Roger Williams forthwith named "Providence" and gave thanks to God for his mercy in bringing them to the place.

Two centuries later, on the brow of a hill overlooking the site of this very settlement, the President of a great Baptist university was to enunciate the royal truth that "every man has a right to himself." This was a moving principle in the life of the founder of the Providence Plantations. In his eyes even an Indian had definite human rights. So he departed from the usual colonial rule that seizure gives ownership, and procured lands from the Indians by definite purchase. Thus it has rightly been said that he was not only the founder of religious liberty in America, but also the pioneer in international justice.

The settlement grew quite rapidly, and two years later the colonists entered into a compact, by which they gave pledges "to submit to all such orders and agencies as shall be made for the public good," but "only in civil things," thus early reserving the right to act as their consciences should direct in all spiritual matters.

This original Providence Compact reads as follows:

We whose names are hereunder writen, being desirous to inhabit the town of Providence, do promise to submit ourselves in active or passive obedience to all such orders or

agreements as shall be made for the public good of the body, in an orderly way, by the major consent of the present inhabitants, masters of families, incorporated together into a township, and such others whom they shall admit unto the same, *only in civil things.*

Thus in brief form and simple language was set forth, for the first time in recorded history, the principle of a pure democracy. There is here no room nor place for ecclesiastical interference in civil affairs, nor for any unholy alliance between Church and State. Mr. E. J. Carpenter has said that this compact of government "must be regarded as the most remarkable document theretofore enacted, not even excepting the Magna Charta." Another critic has affirmed that this Compact, with the English Magna Charta, the Declaration of Independence, and the Proclamation of Emancipation, are "the four great dynamic forces of American freedom."

Two years later, in 1640, another covenant was entered into by Williams and his companions, which confirmed their former compact in a yet more positive way in these ringing words: "We agree, as formerly hath in the liberties of this town, so still to hold forth liberty of conscience." With the founder of our American liberties the individualistic idea, the voluntary principle, the doctrine of absolute separation of civil and spiritual matters, was a passion, and sometimes an obsession. No twentieth-century advertising expert has understood more clearly than he the value of constant and insistent emphasis; so he declared on every possible occasion, and by varied and illuminating forms of expression,

his fundamental belief that the powers of civil bodies should be limited to civil affairs.

The year 1639 is ever memorable in our American Baptist annals, because in March of that year a Baptist church was organized in the Providence Plantation, which has since been known as the First Baptist Church in Providence, and which is forever famous as the first Baptist church to be established on the soil of the American continent. Of this church Roger Williams was the founder and pioneer pastor.

How did this church come to be? Its origin was extraordinary. A few months before it was formed, a dozen men of the new settlement had come to the conviction that the Baptist way was the right way, and the Scriptural way, in which to obey Christ. Roger Williams had come to that conviction years before, and had long been a Baptist at heart. So they declared their Baptist principles and determined to combine in a spiritual fellowship after the method of that "peculiar people." But they had no minister of their new-found faith to baptize them. In this emergency one of their number, Ezekiel Holliman, first baptized Roger Williams, and Williams then baptized Holliman and the others. Immediately thereafter they constituted themselves a church of the apostolic order, and chose Roger Williams for their leader.

Roger Williams was not only a sturdy advocate of all forms of freedom; he was also a believer in even-handed justice alike for friend and foe, and he had a tender heart. During the very first year of

the life of the new settlement he rendered a priceless service to his persecutors. News came to him that the Pequot Indians were plotting the extermination of the English colonists, and had drawn other tribes into a compact for that purpose. Alone and unaided he conferred with "the bloody Pequot ambassadors," broke up their negotiations with the other Indians, secured a league of the colonists with the remaining two tribes, and thus saved the New England colonies from extinction.

The land that had been purchased and the settlement that had been formed were well enough in their way, but safeguards against encroachments were lacking. The governments of Massachusetts Bay and Plymouth, in spite of the fact that Roger Williams' wise diplomacy had saved them from destruction, vented their spleen upon him and his companions in numerous mean ways. They contended that his company had no colony rights whatever, and they plotted to take possession of his Plantation.

Massachusetts claimed jurisdiction over all of the settlements in the Narragansett Bay territory, while Plymouth asserted its sovereignty over Providence and two adjacent towns. There was peril from both these directions. A British charter could alone enable them to defend their rights. So Roger Williams decided to go to England. Massachusetts would not allow him to sail from its ports, and Plymouth followed this lead. He therefore traveled to Manhattan and set sail from there.

In the mother country he found tumults and consusions galore. Strange portents were in the sky,

and the land was drenched in blood. It was the period of the Civil War. In spite of these distressing turmoils the man from the New World gained what he sought. Through the good offices of Sir Harry Vane, a warm friend of every noble enterprise, who served for some time as Governor of the Massachusetts Colony, a charter for the " Incorporation of Providence Plantations in the Narragansett Bay in New England " was secured.

This document granted full power to the inhabitants to rule themselves and such others as should settle within their jurisdiction. It did not contain such clear provisions for liberty of conscience, nor such definite statements concerning the boundaries of the new colony, and other matters, as the people desired. As a guarantee of protection it served its temporary purpose. Under this charter, the towns of Providence, Newport, Portsmouth, and Warwick were brought together. Of this we will treat more fully in our study of the life of Doctor Clarke.

Roger Williams had long since become familiar with the Indian dialects of the region where he lived, so on his way to England in quest of a charter, he wrote his first book, entitled *The Key Into the Languages of America.* During his stay abroad he wrote two other books, much more interesting than the first. One of these, on *Mr. Cotton's Letter,* was based on a pamphlet just published in England by Rev. John Cotton, in which he attempted to " take off the edge of Censure from himself " for having assisted in banishing Williams, and sought to justify the action of the magistrates who had ordered his exile,

eight years before. In his reply Williams assailed Cotton and the magistrates in vigorous language.

Then Cotton made answer defending the New England union of Church and State. To this, just before he left the old country to return to his home, Williams rejoined in his third book, the famous *Bloody Tenet of Persecution.* Cotton was not yet silenced, so he replied with *The Bloody Tenet of Persecution Washed in the Blood of the Lamb,* a title that sounds a little blasphemous to our delicate modern sense.

The war of words was not yet over. Williams made his final retort in a book of nearly four hundred pages, called *The Bloody Tenet Yet More Bloody by Mr. Cotton's Endeavor to Wash It White in the Blood of the Lamb.* In this intricate and voluminous argument, which seems to have silenced Cotton forever, the author proclaims his principles of religious liberty in unanswerable fashion.

The gracious personality of Dr. John Clarke wins our instant regard as we consider the early struggle for soul-liberty. His name is interlinked with that of Roger Williams. They were warm friends through all the years of their strong contention for essential truth. They both realized the insufficiency of the first charter, that had been won in the days of the Commonwealth. They knew that under the new régime all acts of the revolutionary period had been nullified. They were alarmed at the high-handed methods of Governor Coddington. They also feared the renewed threats of other colonies to seize their territory. So, in 1651, with the hearty

support of the four towns constituting the Plantation, they crossed the ocean together to secure more permanent engagements with government for the welfare of their people.

Williams remained in England for more than two years, working diligently in the interests of the colony. He came back in 1654 and was immediately elected President or Governor of the Plantation, holding office for three years. The honor shown him by his friends throughout his long life, and the respect that he elicited in his later years from those who had been his opponents, both in religious and civil matters, attest the high character and unselfish purpose of the man.

He was a Baptist from conviction, and although he separated from the First Church in Providence after a pastorate of only a few months, he never repudiated his baptism nor did he ever cease to be a Baptist in spirit. It has been said that he became a "Seeker," and expected a speedy and apostolic order of things to be established on the earth. If he did follow the tenets of that group of people for a time, their peculiar teachings did not affect him deeply, and in none of his books nor in his autobiographical sketches does he refer to them. They were not a distinct body; the majority of the Seekers remained in full fellowship with their own denominations.

Baptists occupy the first line of battle amongst Protestants. They have always been in the vanguard in the age-long struggle for freedom. Their complete reliance upon the Scriptures, their direct and complete obedience to Jesus Christ, their faith in

regeneration through the agency of the Holy Spirit, their ceaseless effort to reproduce primitive Christianity, and their principles of out-and-out democracy and liberty of conscience, were the groundwork of Roger Williams' life and labors and continued to be his cherished convictions throughout his entire career. His unswerving belief in baptism by immersion and in a regenerate church-membership appear also in his later writings.

He had limitless opportunities of self-aggrandizement. A large portion of the northern section of Rhode Island stood for a time in his name; he might thus have enriched himself beyond measure; had he followed such jungle methods as those of many modern bandits of commerce, he might easily have become chief baron of a wealthy domain. But in that case he would have ceased to be Roger Williams. He had no personal greed, and he died a poor man.

Roger Williams uttered his flaming protest in the cause of religious freedom, and achieved a momentous task in settling and establishing Baptist principles on the American Continent. He inaugurated movements of such power, in behalf of freedom, justice, and a valiant democracy, that their influence continues unto this day. His later years were peaceful. In his old age he appeared again as an honored friend of the Indians, pleading with them for the safety of the Colonists. He died in 1676.

Georg Gervinus, the celebrated German historian and critic, has said concerning Roger Williams that he founded a "new society in Rhode Island upon the

principles of entire liberty of conscience and the uncontrolled power of the majority in secular concerns; which principles have not only maintained themselves here but have spread over the whole Union, and given laws to one-quarter of the globe; and, dreaded for their moral influence, they stand in the background of every democratic struggle in Europe."

VIII

JOHN CLARKE

Statesman

JOHN CLARKE: 1609–1676

I. A Myriad-Minded Man.

II. The Immigrant:

1. Seeks freedom from Old-World conditions.
2. Finds tyranny in New England.
3. Seeks freedom northward and southward.
4. Visits Providence and Plymouth.
5. Purchases Aquidneck from Indians.

III. A New Colony:

1. A unique compact; Christian and democratic.
2. Growth of Portsmouth; founding of Newport.
3. Laws and orders.
4. The two towns unite, forming the "Democracie" of Rhode Island.
5. Roger Williams secures a Charter that includes Rhode Island.
6. Clarke reconciles Williams and his opponents.

IV. The United Colony:

1. A Code of Laws, providing freedom.
2. Quakers in the Colony.
3. Clarke's constructive influence.
   (1) Defends liberty of conscience.
   (2) Forms Newport church.
   (3) A Baptist from conviction.

V. The Mission to England:

1. Coddington secures a dictatorship.
2. Clarke and Williams sail the seas.
3. They checkmate Coddington.
4. The first Charter is annulled.
5. Clarke secures permanent Charter; its character and value.

VI. Conclusion:

1. Death of Doctor Clarke.
2. His "lively experiment."

JOHN CLARKE

Statesman

Dr: John Clarke was a man of distinguished talents. He was born in Westhorpe, Suffolk County, England, on October 8, 1609. His career was brilliant and dramatic. Let us seek to get an adequate picture of this myriad-minded man. He was a stalwart, six feet tall, well made and muscular. He was a scholar, deeply learned in Greek and Hebrew. He was a skilled physician, and practised his profession in London and afterward in Newport. He was a diligent pastor, serving his people so faithfully that he won their reverent esteem. He was a vigorous debater, an effective preacher, and a clear expositor.

He had singular ability as an organizer, as the First Church in Newport which he founded, and the many enterprises which he conducted bear testimony. He was the foremost American diplomat of his age, and succeeded, in face of almost insurmountable obstacles, in winning the Charter of Rhode Island. He was a statesman, serving as Deputy Governor of the new colony for some time, and in other important offices. He was an author; his books on *Ill News from New England* and *Narrative of New England Persecutions*, take rank with Roger Williams' *Bloody Tenet of Persecution for Cause of Conscience* as immortal messages in the interest of religious liberty. Always he was a dauntless

warrior of the truth. There is no finer figure in all our matchless Baptist history.

John Clarke, while going his rounds as a good physician in the city of London, was considering with the eager mind of a vigorous young man the perplexing problems of the time. He was not one to think confusedly or without getting at results. Both in matters of politics and religion he came to have very pronounced opinions, and they were permeated by the spirit of freedom. He saw small chance of any sort of freedom in Old England, so he turned toward New England, hoping for better things. When he was twenty-eight years of age he arrived in Boston.

To his sorrow he found the same tumult here as he had known in the land of his birth. Mrs. Hutchinson and her brother-in-law, Mr. Wheelwright, were being tried for their sin against the Standing Order in daring to hold religious views that did not accord with those of the persecuting theocracy of the time. Clarke did not fully sympathize with Mrs. Hutchinson's religious views, but he sympathized with her faith and fortitude, and the spirit of the tyrants who attacked her was abominable in his eyes. She and Mr. Wheelwright were banished; but it stands to the honor of a group of Boston citizens that they boldly took sides with the afflicted exiles and determined that they themselves also would leave the colony.

The fair-minded young Englishman, John Clarke, at once joined this group, and became from the first its natural leader. They thought it best to go North

"to be somewhat cooler," because they had experienced "insufferable heat" during the summer in Boston, so they migrated to New Hampshire. There, however, they were attacked by insufferable cold. It was "somewhat cooler" than they wished. Sorely they missed the mild and equable climate of Old England. In the spring they chartered a vessel and sailed southward toward Long Island, thinking to settle there.

By good fortune they decided that Doctor Clarke and a few others should leave the ship before she rounded Cape Cod and join her again farther south. Those who landed followed an Indian trail through the forests. This led to Providence, "which was begun by one Roger Williams (who for matter of conscience had not long before been exiled from the former jurisdiction) by whom we were courteously and lovingly received."

Roger Williams had then been living for two years in the settlement. This was the first meeting of these two heroic men, both of whom were forever to be known as fathers and founders of Baptist democracy in America. They were eminent personalities.

Where should these religious refugees make their home? It was a perplexing question. They put it up to Roger Williams. He told them of two favorable places, both of them near at hand. One of these was called Sowwames, the other Aquidneck, afterward Rhode Island. "But," they replied, "these places may be included in some other colony." "The best way to find out about that," said Williams, "is to go to Plymouth." He accompanied

them to Plymouth where they were given a hearty welcome by Governor Bradford and the Pilgrims.

"We are now on the wing," said Clarke, "and we are resolved through the help of Christ to get clear of all and be of ourselves. Now how about Sowwames? Have you any rights there?" "Indeed we have! Why Sowwames is the very garden of our colony, and the flower in the garden." "Well, we desire not what is yours. Do you also lay claim to the island that is called Acquednecke?" With a cheerful countenance the Plymouth magistrates made answer that they had no rights over the island, and that if Clarke and his company decided to settle there they would be glad to assist them in every possible way.

First aid in this matter was given by Roger Williams, however. His friendship with the Indians and their trust in him enabled him to arrange satisfactory terms. They purchased the island, selected the location for the settlement, and made themselves at home. The deed of settlement was written by Doctor Clarke.

This deed contains some picturesque language. It recites that the colonists from Massachusetts enter into agreement with Canonicus and Miantunnomus, the two sachems of the Nanhiggansitts for the purchase of the great Island of Acquednecke, as also the marsh or grass upon Quimonicutt, and the grass upon the rivers and coves about Kitickamuckquitt, and from there to Paupansquatch, for the full payment of "forty fathoms of white beads." The deed was heartily agreed to by both parties. It was

signed by Doctor Clarke and the two sachems and witnessed by Roger Williams and Ramdall Holden.

Let it not be supposed that Clarke's fellow colonists were nomads or shiftless wanderers. Most of them had been well-to-do citizens of Boston, and had occupied positions of honor and influence in the community. William Coddington was a prominent merchant, long a member of the Boston Town Council and one of the founders of the First Church. He was Assistant to the Governor and Treasurer of the Massachusetts Bay Colony. John Coggeshall was a selectman of the town of Boston, a Deputy in the General Court and a Deacon in the First Church. Samuel Gorton was "one of the best-educated men of the New England Colonies," and also a man of wealth; he was "one of the noble spirits who esteemed liberty more than life." Of such sort were these protesters against the iniquities of the Standing Order. In matters of social position and sound culture the best of Boston left Boston with Dr. John Clarke.

The equivalent of "forty fathoms of white beads" has been reckoned at between fifty and a hundred dollars. But the Indians were perfectly satisfied with their bargain. According to agreement the sachems removed all of the natives from the Island to other localities, and did it so well and so promptly that they were graciously allowed ten fathoms of beads extra, for their "paines and travell." So everybody was happy, and the exiles began to prepare for the future and to enjoy the clear air of freedom.

Doctor Clarke and the others kept constantly before them as their chief end and aim the planting of homes and the establishment of institutions on the lines of a new civil, social, and religious policy. They were no socialists. One of the first acts of the new settlers was the assignment of lots on which houses should be built, and the record of such assignment constituted definite personal ownership. All land was paid for, usually in regular instalments. Fixed land values and a system of equitable taxation for public purposes were agreed upon at the beginning.

It has often been affirmed that this colony was the first civil state in the history of the world to be founded upon faith in Jesus Christ. The compact that was signed by the leading men had been prepared by Doctor Clarke before they left Boston. This remarkable document read as follows:

> We whose names are underwritten do hereby solemnly in the presence of Jehovah incorporate ourselves into a Body Politic, and as He should help, will submit our persons, lives and estates unto our Lord Jesus Christ, the King of Kings, and Lord of Lords, and to all those perfect and most absolute laws of His given in His Holy Word of truth, to be guided and judged thereby.

Thus Jesus Christ is chosen as the interpreter of the new democracy. Thus these virile colonists acknowledge no human authority whatsoever as their superior. They are free men.

It should be noted that this "Portsmouth Contract," as it is called, was a free and sovereign act, made not by King or Parliament, but directly by the people themselves. It was formed under the natural

and divine right to "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." It called upon God as a witness to the great transaction. It established the primacy of the settlement at Portsmouth as an absolutely free municipality. It inaugurated for America and for the world the glorious principle of popular sovereignty. Written by the hand of a Baptist minister, it perpetuated in the New World the principle for which the Baptists of Europe had been contending for more than a hundred years.

Portsmouth was the first settlement in the new Plantation. It grew rapidly in numbers and in influence. The newcomers were chiefly people of intelligence and culture. A hundred families followed the original pioneers within the year. The town was getting too big! So, on April 28, 1639, it was determined to "propagate a Plantation" elsewhere, and establish a second settlement. During the year the whole island had been carefully surveyed under Doctor Clarke's direction, and it was found that an excellent site for a town, facing a fine harbor, was provided by nature at the southern extremity of the island. Doctor Clarke was the leader of this exodus to the new settlement, which was named Newport, while many excellent people from the Massachusetts Bay soon came streaming in.

As in Portsmouth (or Pocasset) so in Newport, the entire paraphernalia of a highly civilized community was at once set up in the wilderness. The citizens were servants of law as well as lovers of liberty, so they not only built a meeting-house, but also a prison, to say nothing of a whipping-post, a

set of stocks, a court-house and a pound for straying cattle. At an early town-meeting, orders were issued for the building of rail-fences, "for the restraint of hogs."

Arms and ammunition were provided for each family, for they lived in a land of perils and uncertainties. Treacherous Indians might attack them; and bears, wolves, and foxes abounded in the surrounding forests. It was decreed that "noe man shall go two miles from the town unarmed, eyther with Gunn or Sword, and that none shall come to any public meeting without his weapon."

The records for "ye town of Niewport" indicate that all of these careful provisions for the institution of laws, legal processes, taxation, and regulation of the social order in its varied departments of activity, were accomplished without enmities, hindrances, or misunderstandings, but with heartiness and unanimity. It has been said that "the settlers of Aquidneck were freer from disturbing agencies than any other American Colony or settlement."

Doctor Clarke was the only ordained clergyman in the group. He preached from the beginning of things in the meeting-house at Portsmouth and afterwards in that at Newport. Amongst his hearers and supporters were men and women of different creeds, but they were firmly united in their love of religious freedom, and they listened with appreciation to the Baptist preacher. Amongst them were Anne Hutchinson, Mr. Coddington, and others who had been members of the Congregational church in Boston.

From a painting in the Redwood Library, Newport, Rhode Island

JOHN CLARKE

Statesman

A Supposed Likeness

Having established two separate and flourishing towns the next question was the formation of a state or colony, under one general government. So, as early as November, 1639, the people instructed Doctor Clarke and Mr. Eaton to write to Sir Harry Vane, their warm friend and an uncompromising Non-conformist, to treat with King Charles with reference to the matter of obtaining a Royal Patent of the Island of Aquidneck. To expedite this process the two towns by a unanimous agreement, entered into at Newport, formed a colony which later assumed the name Rhode Island.

This federal union demanded a new Declaration of Rights. This clearly defined the new colony as "a Democracie or popular government," and decreed that all laws should be made and regulated by the Body of Freemen assembled in orderly fashion. It also safeguarded religious liberty by affirming that no man should be accounted a delinquent for doctrine. This Declaration was the first public assertion of the principle of democracy that was ever formulated and set forth on the Western continent. A year after the initial Bill of Rights was passed, the General Court of Freemen ordered that this law "concerning Libertie of Conscience in Doctrine" be perpetuated.

Just at this time Roger Williams, desiring the union of his Providence group with the Aquidneck Colony, and anxious that their liberties should be guaranteed by the English government, acted with his usual independence of spirit. He set sail for the old country, and on September 17, 1644, arrived in

Boston on his return journey, bearing his "Charter of Incorporation for Providence Plantations in the Narragansett Bay in New England." This instrument names the towns of Providence, Portsmouth, and Newport as a part and parcel of the incorporation, but makes no mention of the new Colony of Rhode Island on Aquidneck.

No one could have been more surprised at this action than the settlers on the Island. They had a particular desire to unite with themselves, and with no one else. They had given no instructions to Roger Williams. He evidently thought they would be greatly obliged to him for his good offices in their behalf; but, to speak frankly, they were intensely annoyed at his unauthorized procedure.

For three years the General Court of the Rhode Island Colony took no action. Folks in general expressed their opinions very freely, however. Then Dr. John Clarke stepped into the breach. To carry their differences of opinion across the ocean might result in the nullification of the Roger Williams' Charter and the refusal to grant any other. So by diplomatic and conciliatory means he brought the two parties together, with the result that it was agreed by the General Court, "that all should set their hands to an engagement to the Charter." Thus by the consent of all concerned, the four towns of Portsmouth, Newport, Providence, and Warwick, became the Colony of Providence Plantations.

The towns of Newport and Portsmouth, having groups of people of an intellectual and moral type superior to those of Providence and Warwick, bore

the heavier share in the evolution of affairs. Toward the traveling expenses of Roger Williams, in connection with his journey to England, they contributed £80, while Providence gave only £20 and Warwick nothing at all. Five of the seven newly elected officers were from the first two towns, one from Warwick, and Roger Williams from Providence.

The General Code of Laws for the Colony was drawn undoubtedly by Doctor Clarke, with the possible assistance of William Dyer, the Recorder. The Preamble to this code declared in bold terms and in capital letters, that

> the Forme of Government Established in Providence Plantations is DEMOCRATICAL; that is to say, a Government Held by ye Free and Voluntary Consent of all or the Greater Parte of the Free Inhabitants,

and goes on to guarantee each man's "Peaceable and Quiett Enjoyment of his Right and Libertie, notwithstanding Our Different Consciences, Touching the Truth as it is in Jesus."

Not only in the preamble but in the text as well, this Code safeguards the rights of all individuals composing the Colony, in all religious concerns.[1] The wording of the document throughout is simple, clear, direct, and unspoiled by technical verbiage. It sets forth the basic elements of the whole body of common law in sentences that a child can understand. It presents principles of inestimable value and far-reaching significance, and provides a specimen of democratic legislation that is unequaled in its cogency and force.

[1] See *Rhode Island Colonial Records*, Vol. 1, Pp. 156-208.

Not only was Rhode Island a refuge for Baptists but for Quakers as well. Nowhere else in New England were either of these freedom-loving peoples free from persecution. In 1638, when Anne Hutchinson was excommunicated from the First Church of the Standing Order in Boston, and expelled from the colony, she went forth from the meeting-house, bearing her heavy burden of grief. A young woman instantly left her place in the crowd of on-lookers, and taking her arm, walked with her from the place, seeking to comfort her in her sorrow. Some of the men who looked on jeered at the woman and vilified the one who had dared their taunts to help a friend. The name of that young woman was Mary Dyer. She was the wife of William Dyer, Secretary of the Aquidneck Colony, and afterward of the Providence Plantation. She was hanged on Boston Common by the Puritans in 1660 for the sole reason that she was a Quakeress.

We may well contrast with this fiendish act the stand taken by Doctor Clarke, the leader of the Rhode Island group. Without wavering for a moment in his wholesome radicalism he contended always for absolute liberty of conscience. He established relations of warm Christian fellowship with the Friends, who came in large numbers to the colony, and he incorporated into the new Code a provision allowing the full privileges of citizenship to such as " may scruple the giving or taking an oath." They were not only permitted free entry into the colony, but were also allowed to hold any offices of which they were worthy, and their " affirmation "

was regarded as the equivalent of an oath in giving testimony.

In the year 1644, soon after the two towns on Aquidneck had united in a colony, and Dr. John Clarke had removed his own residence to Newport, he organized the Baptist people of that town into a church. The extension of the colony's property on each side of the island had been due to Clarke's wisdom and diplomacy. The expansion of the Baptist faith, and the formation of other churches in the years that followed, were also due to this man's zeal.

It is characteristic of Baptist history that an unfettered and reverent study of the Scriptures brings men to a belief in Baptist principles. This phenomenon has occurred times without number. It occurred in the history of the Rhode Island Plantation. People came to John Clarke from a distance, as people once went out into the wilderness to John the Baptist, " to be baptized of him." The Newport church was not unvexed by emphatic differences of opinion. All wide-awake Baptist churches have had this experience. It is a natural sequence of the right of private judgment. Under the leadership of its gifted pastor, however, the Newport church grew and prospered. It was known as a fellowship of stanch, clean-living men and women of high integrity and singularly independent spirit.

John Clarke himself seems to have come to the Baptist position independently. He was not a Baptist but a Puritan when he came to Boston. Nevertheless he was a sincere lover of liberty and its con-

stant advocate, as a dozen well-established facts clearly prove. His disgust at the expulsion from the Congregational church in Boston of a group of high-minded and devout Christians, drove him to a contempt for the ways and manners of the Standing Order. Thenceforward he was a Baptist in his convictions, if not by formal profession.

When and by whom he was baptized, we do not know; but his continued plea for liberty of conscience, as indicated in his writings at this time, and especially in the Declaration of Rights for the Colony of Rhode Island and later in the Code of Laws for the Providence Plantations, assure us beyond question of his definite Baptist attitude. In his sympathies and in his avowed attitude he was a Baptist from the time he left Boston.

In 1651 this truly great man was requisitioned by the people of the colony for a critical mission. He and Roger Williams were sent to England to secure a new charter. The commissioning of this deputation was the immediate result of a high-handed act on the part of a prominent member of the colony. In 1648 William Coddington was elected President of the four united towns of the new colony. But this did not satisfy his ambitions. So he sailed secretly for England after the execution of Charles I and the establishment of the Commonwealth. At this time affairs of state were greatly confused in the old country and matters of local moment were occupying the full attention of Oliver Cromwell and his officers. It was a period of strain and tension.

Taking advantage of this condition Mr. Codding-

ton went quietly to work, secured the aid of some distinguished politicians, and actually succeeded in securing for himself a commission as " Governor for life of the lands of Aquidneck and Conanicut." Here, at the very beginning, was a startling breach of the very principle on which the colony was founded. More than this. His appointment as life-governor of a section of the Providence Plantations automatically nullified the charter of the colony, and left a portion of it without a government, and therefore at the mercy of the neighboring colonies of Massachusetts Bay and Connecticut.

Clarke and Williams were sent as emissaries of the indignant colonists. They speedily accomplished part of their mission. The powers granted to Coddington were abrogated, and the old charter was restored. Having succeeded to this extent Roger Williams returned to America in 1654. John Clarke, however, with his deeper political insight, realized the need for safeguarding the interests of the four towns, and for obtaining if possible, a new and more substantial charter. So he remained in England as a sort of High Commissioner for the infant colony.

A new crisis came with the death of Cromwell and the accession of Charles II. These events canceled completely the chartered rights of the colony and put in jeopardy its territorial holdings. The reason for this is simple. All the acts of the Long Parliament, which sat during the period of the Commonwealth, were annulled upon the restoration of the Stuart dynasty under Charles. Thereupon Dr. John Clarke achieved the greatest task of his useful

life. He has been called "the greatest American diplomat of his age."

By his strenuous efforts he thwarted the machinations of the London agents for the Connecticut and Massachusetts Bay Colonies, endured much personal abuse from the enemies of liberty, carried on lengthy debates with English legislators and enlisted the aid of a few able and intelligent men of influence in British state affairs. How he managed to persuade so uncompromising a monarchist as Lord Clarendon to espouse his cause, passes our comprehension, but he did this very thing. He "had a way with him," and he captured that wily statesman, to whose aid he owed much of his success. Probably Clarendon reasoned that it could do no harm to please a little group of humble folks in an out-of-the-way corner of America, in the midst of savages.

So at last John Clarke won his great victory. From Charles II, that shifty and selfish monarch who

> Never said a foolish thing
> And never did a wise one,

—except on this particular occasion—he obtained the royal signature to his new charter. That charter was a marvelous document. It was based solidly upon Clarke's letter of petition and contained the very wording of that letter as its text, creating in perpetuity the English Colony of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations in the Narragansett Bay. Not without reason has that document been described as "the broadest charter of human liberties ever issued under a royal seal."

The date of this historic charter was July 8, 1662. It secured, along with full measure of civil liberty, the boon of absolute freedom in all religious concerns. It safeguarded at all points the rights of the individual in every matter of conscience. Thus Rhode Island became the freest community of citizens in the entire world. The genius of John Clarke had triumphed gloriously.

Let us think for a moment what privileges this charter conveyed to the people of Rhode Island. It brought the boon of a solid citizenship conceived in the spirit of freedom. In addition to territorial rights it brought the franchise, administrative assemblies, a genuinely representative government, an unrestricted law-making power, and an independent judiciary. With these it brought freedom of speech, freedom in political action, freedom of conscience and of worship, and the complete separation of Church and State. It has been said that with this charter serving as a basis of government the State of Rhode Island led the way in the final struggle for national independence.

Bancroft, easily the most eminent American historian, accords to the humble Baptist preacher, whose own words are definitely incorporated in this immortal document, the highest meed of praise, and assigns to the charter "the first position as a state paper among the records of civilized man."

John Clarke received an uproarious welcome on his return to his beloved Rhode Island. Here was one prophet who was hailed with merited honor in his own country and amongst his own people.

Clearly they recognized the unspeakable value of the gift which he had been the means of securing for them and their posterity. For thirteen years longer he lived upon earth, rejoicing in the high esteem of all citizens of the colony. He held high offices of state and was consulted upon every matter of importance, being "the wisest man in the Colony."

On account of the broad liberties granted by the new charter to differences of religious opinion, advocates of various sects and creeds found a home within its hospitable boundaries. This led to vigorous debates and wordy battles, but the spirit of persecution never lifted its ugly head. In his own church John Clarke experienced the necessary results of his liberal policy. On two occasions some of his members seceded and formed other churches. There is no record of bitterness in connection with these independent movements, and the mother church continued to expand.

Dr. John Clarke ended his blameless and sacrificial life in 1676, at the age of sixty-six. One of the most remarkable characteristics of this most remarkable man was his great-heartedness. Although he lived amid exciting scenes he was always calm and well-balanced. He did good to all. His character was beyond reproach. He was one of the most worthy amongst all the sons of men.

In closing this brief study of his life it is well to cherish in our minds one of his illustrious statements, setting forth the principles for which he battled through many years of storm and stress. This statement is sometimes ascribed to Roger Wil-

liams, but quite erroneously. Speaking of the ambitions of the little group of Rhode Island people, who had been illuminated by his own teaching and example, Doctor Clarke says:

> That it is much on their hearts (if they may be permitted) to hold forth a lively experiment, that a most flourishing civil state may stand and best be maintained, and that among our English subjects, with a full liberty in religious concernments.

This " lively experiment " of a free commonwealth was put in motion by John Clarke: this " most flourishing civil state " was established by his devotion; this "full liberty in religious concernments " was the basic principle in the chartered rights which he secured for that free and democratic state. His Rhode Island charter represents today the final guarantee of civil and religious freedom in America.

IX

OBADIAH HOLMES

Confessor

OBADIAH HOLMES: c. 1607–1682

I. The Highest Immigrant Type.

II. Holmes' Early Adventures:
1. Birth and parentage.
2. Becomes a formal Christian.
3. Reaction against formalism.
4. Crosses the ocean; settles in Salem.

III. Five Years in Salem:
1. Rebels at union of Church and State.
2. Excommunicated and expelled.
3. Business partner persecuted.

IV. Five Years in Rehoboth:
1. Holmes versus Newman.
2. A leader of schismatics.
3. Indicted and excommunicated.
4. Becomes a Baptist.

V. A Torch-Bearer of Freedom:
1. Newport welcomes the wanderer.
2. New contacts; active church work.
3. The test of faith:
   (1) Visit to William Winter.
   (2) Arrest and imprisonment of three Baptists.
   (3) Fines or the whipping-post; Holmes refuses to be "bought off."
   (4) The public scourging.
   (5) Penalties for Holmes' friends.
   (6) Holmes' return to Newport.

VI. An Eminent Servant of the Common Good:
1. Holmes as pastor.
2. Increasing influence.
3. Division in the church.
4. Holmes' wider interests.

VII. Domestic Relations:
1. Children of the Confessor.
2. Messages to his wife and children.
3. Death; descendants; character.

OBADIAH HOLMES

Confessor

Many men of taste and culture came from Old England to New England in the early days. They belonged to good families, and they were trained in the schools. Broad-visioned, high-minded, resolute, courageous, they were true sons of freedom and sought opportunity for a life of free expansion, unfettered by any embargoes upon soul or conscience. Such a man was Obadiah Holmes. For all of his later years he was known as "The Confessor." People remembered the torture he had endured for Christ's sake. They knew his eager readiness to attest his love for his Master, always, everywhere. They called to mind the promise made to him who should confess Christ's name before men. So quite naturally, and with sincere affection, they gave him his honorable title, using it not in its later priestly sense, but in its primitive and beautiful meaning. They trusted him, for they had found him true.

He was born near Manchester, England, in 1606-1607, and was christened at Didsbury on March 18, 1609-1610. The Holmes family was both "ancient and honorable." Curious persons have traced the lineage of Obadiah in the parish and court records of Lancashire and Cheshire for more than two hundred years prior to his birth. The first Englishman of the name is supposed to have been the Norman

Knight, Randulphus Hoalme, who came from France in the train of William the Conqueror.

The parents of Obadiah Holmes were faithful and good-living people who brought up their children both tenderly and honorably, "seeking to inform and instruct them in the fear of the Lord." They had some difficulty with their oldest son. Obadiah was a full-blooded English lad. He was the most rebellious of the little flock and seemed for a time to care for little save folly and vanity.

After four or five years of waywardness, he was sobered and straightened out by the serious illness of his mother. With that kindness of heart and thoughtfulness of others that were his lifelong characteristics, he attributed her sickness to his own wild ways, and her anxiety on his account. From that time forward his moral character was beyond reproach. He read his Bible, spent much time in prayer, sought the company of Christian people, and attended regularly the parish church. He became a formal professor of religion of a model type, correct, irreproachable.

He was by no means satisfied. Deep down in his heart he felt that he was not a thoroughgoing Christian. He found that his best performances were full of sin. Of all vices he detested most that of hypocrisy, and yet he feared that there was much of this very vice mixed with his own experiences and actions. For years he continued in this unenviable state. He could "speak comfortably" to others while there was sore disquiet within his own soul.

He began to be suspicious of the formalities of the

The Grave of
OBADIAH HOLMES
Confessor
Middletown, Rhode Island

Anglican church. The churchly order was very smooth and dignified, its services enriched with stately ritual; but he failed to find in them any such ministry of abounding love, any such beauty of sacrificial service as his eager soul longed to possess. He was frank in his criticisms. He decided at last to leave his native country for a freer clime. He wanted to "avoid the popish relics of the Bishops and that filthy hellish rabble, and to separate from them and all those that mentioned them." So he made his resolution, and dared to "adventure the danger of the seas to come to New England," the supposed abode of religious liberty.

Consider this young man as with high hope in his heart he crosses the Atlantic. He is thirty-two years of age. He comes of stanch stock. He has more than usual ability. He has had the advantage of a period of study at Oxford University. He has been married for eight years; and his wife Katherine, with their little son Jonathan, a boy about three years of age, accompany him on his journey to his new home.

After a tempestuous voyage of six weeks they landed at Boston. As a result of careful inquiries they chose Salem for their home. It was a town that within Holmes' lifetime would come to be known as "the place where they burn witches," but the outlook seemed favorable, and the young immigrant had soon established himself there.

Within a year three important steps were taken—civic, commercial, and religious. He was granted two acres of land by the town council; he commenced

the erection of a building for the manufacture of glass, said to have been the first glass-works in America; and he and his wife united with the church of the Standing Order, which had been founded just ten years before. Thus he speedily became a solid citizen of the town.

He was expecting wonderful things in a spiritual way. As happened in the case of those other two princely men, Williams and Clarke, he was destined to be cruelly disappointed, and his eyes were opened very soon after his arrival. Theology was in the air. It was agitated seven days in the week. Questions of church order, discipline, and practise were subjects of current conversation. Straight-laced Puritans were forever on the watch to find delinquencies in their brethren. Church and State were as pertinaciously interlinked as they had been in the Old Country.

Obadiah Holmes had long since become a dissenter. His honest soul abhorred the servitudes of a State Church. The provisions of the civil laws for rigid enforcement of the doctrines and rules of the Established Church excited the indignation of this strong man. As every one was discussing religion he discussed it too, with frank lips and in downright sincerity. The arguments that he used in behalf of religious liberty did not delight the rigorists. Quite the contrary!

He endured conditions for five years, and the Salem authorities endured him. Then the crisis came. He was excommunicated from the church and virtually expelled from the colony. He took

refuge at Rehoboth, on the banks of the Seekonk River, in the Plymouth Colony. For a time all went well. Plymouth was always more broad-minded and human than Massachusetts Bay. Holmes and his wife were received into the Rehoboth church. What became of his growing glass business in Salem we do not know, but we do know what afterward happened to his partner in that business, Lawrence Southwick, and it colors the doings of the Puritans with crimson and black.

Southwick and his wife were Quakers. In due time they came under the usual sneaking espionage. The Massachusetts General Court, after imposing upon them heavy fines for their religious faith, ordered that their son and young daughter, who had no separate property, should be sold into slavery to pay the fines. The Court expected that some of the captains whose ships were at anchor in Salem harbor, would buy them for transportation to Virginia or Barbadoes.

On the day of the sale Governor Endicott, one of the judges, and a clergyman of the church, appeared on the scene. The fair young girl was brutally presented for sale on the auction-block; but fortunately the rough sea-captains had more of religion and more of humanity than the Court and clergy, and they stubbornly refused to bid. So the sister and brother were finally released. Oliver Wendell Holmes has immortalized the scene in one of his poems.

Rev. Samuel Newman was the pastor of the Rehoboth church. He was a man of excellence and worth,

in his way; but Newman and Holmes were born under different stars. Newman was a reactionary; Holmes had the rapidly ripening spirit of the Protestant and radical. Newman lived in the past, Holmes in the promise of the future. They could not agree. Perhaps both were to blame for the separation that soon took place. A small group remained with the pastor; another group gathered about Holmes, and they instituted "free-church" services, meeting from house to house.

Obadiah Holmes appeared now as the leader of the Schismatics of the Seekonk. The term was given in derision; it is retained in honor. Baptists have often been called schismatics, and they have a right to the title, since at the cost of popularity and property and even life itself, they have so often broken entirely away from every form of secular authority over man's conscience, from empty rites and ceremonies, from all false compacts between priest and politician.

We are told that the church at Rehoboth was "divided on doctrinal and legal lines." Just what the hot-tempered Newman said against Holmes we do not know in detail. It appears, however, that in the month of October, 1649, matters reached a climax. Holmes sued Newman for slander and won his case, the minister confessing his guilt. Before this time Holmes had been excommunicated by the Rehoboth church. A year later he was indicted by the Grand Jury of Plymouth colony "for the continuing of a meeting upon the Lord's Day, contrary to the order of the Court." The victim of this un-

holy indictment, which is signed by Governor Bradford, Myles Standish, John Alden, and others, took the measure quietly. He had been clearly shown by the blustering Captain Myles Standish, who had no religion of his own to spare, and by his companions, that he and his company were absolutely forbidden to worship God according to the dictates of their own consciences. But he was determined to worship God in his own way, with a pure heart. So he decided that it was time to move on.

Before leaving Rehoboth Holmes and the others were baptized and became a regular Baptist congregation. The next removal toward freedom brought him into the sunlight, and there he remained all his days. With several of the other protestants he journeyed to Newport, where he found Dr. John Clarke, a fully organized and flourishing Baptist church, and the guarantee of complete religious liberty.

Risking business failure, leaving friends and associates, and following a roving life quite out of harmony with his stable character, he has pursued his quest from Lancashire to New England, from Salem to Rehoboth, and from Rehoboth to Newport. At last his persistency wins peace, and he finds that boon of loyalty, fellowship, and a free faith that his soul has so long and so eagerly sought.

In his old age, glancing back over his useful life and abundant labors, the good man speaks in homely language of his early struggles. Describing his first coming to these shores, he says: "I tried all things in several churches and for a time thought I had

made a good choice or change; but in truth it little differed from former times, and my spirit was like a wave tossed up and down."

The lash, the pillory, the fagot, and the gallows were all familiar to the Puritans of Massachusetts Bay Colony. With his whole righteous soul the Confessor loathed the abundant evidences of bitter religious intolerance which surrounded him. The banishments and burnings, the maimings and scourgings, the various subtle and diabolically ingenious methods of securing conformity or exile, stirred his inmost being. By a lifetime of wholehearted denunciation and protest he expressed his noble attachment to the Baptist principle of unlimited freedom of conscience in all matters of spiritual faith.

In Newport he was brought into close contact with many wide-awake and liberty-loving people. He and those who had accompanied him from Rehoboth, united with the First Baptist Church, and immediately became active workers. Holmes gave his time more and more to matters of a distinctly religious character although it was some time before he began preaching.

A supreme test of his faith awaited him, and it may very well be that this test, and its triumphant issue, decided him to enter upon the active ministry of Jesus Christ. The story of his hideous treatment at the hands of the Boston hierarchy is rather barbarous and wholly disgraceful, but it must be told if we would estimate aright the honor and glory of Obadiah Holmes.

A farmer named William Winter lived at Swampscott, close to the town of Lynn, in the Bay Colony. He had been arrested for denying infant baptism. He had been excommunicated from the Congregational church for two reasons, his absence for nine months from public worship, and his fellowship with Doctor Clarke's church at Newport, which he had joined.

Being old and blind, Mr. Winter could not very well attend church services at Newport, seventy-five miles away. So, whenever possible, some of the brethren took the long journey to Swampscott to cheer and comfort him, and whenever they were in his vicinity they visited him. On a summer day in 1651, Doctor Clarke, Mr. Holmes, and Mr. Crandall thus called upon him, reaching his home on a Saturday evening. They expected to enjoy a quiet Sabbath in each other's company.

In the morning the family and their guests came together for worship. Doctor Clarke began an exposition of God's word, and after he had been speaking for a little time, four or five neighbors came in and joined the reverent group. But the crafty persecutor was on their trail. While the preacher was speaking earnestly on the faithfulness of God to his people in hours of temptation, two constables broke in upon the members of the little company and arrested them. Over their protest they were taken to the State Church and obliged to remain during the service. Refusing to remove their hats, these were rudely snatched from their heads and thrown on the floor. The next day they were

allowed a brief term of liberty which they employed in celebrating the Lord's Supper at Winter's house. This sinful and high-handed proceeding so excited the wrath of the Puritan magistrates that when the prisoners appeared before them in the afternoon, they sentenced them to jail in Boston.

After two weeks of prison solitude they were led forth to trial. Doctor Clarke was fined £30, Mr. Holmes £20, and Mr. Crandall £5, with the pleasant alternative that if they refused to pay they would be publicly whipped. They refused to pay. The august Puritan law took its course. It is said that as Mr. Clarke stood stripped to the waist and tied at the whipping-post some humane person was so affected with the sight of "a scholar, a gentleman, and reverend divine in such a situation" that he, with a sum of money, redeemed him from his bloody tormenters. Clarke afterward declared that this act, which he deeply appreciated for its evidence of Christian sympathy, was nevertheless done without his own consent and contrary to his judgment.

Clarke and Crandall were both released by this friendly intervention, as Holmes would also have been, but he stoutly refused to allow any such action. He had been found guilty of "hearing a sermon in a private manner," so the law must take its course. He declined to make even an indirect compromise with his persecutors by paying an unjust fine or allowing another to pay it for him. He thus became the pioneer "passive resister." He was "whipt unmercifully." So extreme was this outrage that for many days after he could take no rest except by lying

upon his knees and elbows, not being able to suffer any part of his body to touch the bed whereon he lay.

The exact location of the whipping-post to which Holmes was bound, the very spot where he suffered, is now known. It was situated immediately in front of the First Church, and in the rear of the old State House, which still stands. Where Devonshire Street broadens out and crosses State Street, in the rear of the State House, it was fixed; and there Obadiah Holmes suffered publicly, under the gaze of a curious throng.

The account of the whipping has its aspect of sublimity. The man who was deputized to do the devilish deed used all his strength, applying the three-cord whip thirty times upon the bare body of his victim. As he began to ply his lash, Holmes cried out, "Though my flesh should fail, and my spirit should fail, yet my God will not fail." Then, as the blows intensified and the blood flowed freely he prayed that God would not lay this sin to the charge of his persecutors.

He tells us that the Lord was definitely present with him, and that during the time of this cruel mocking and scourging he had such a spiritual manifestation of God's presence as he had never known before. It was an unspeakably wonderful experience. When he was loosed from the whipping-post he had joyfulness in his heart and cheerfulness in his countenance. In spite of the blood and shame, and the cruel welts and bruises, he said to the magistrates, "You have struck me as with roses!"

Two men of heart were amongst the spectators.

They were John Hazel and John Speer; the names of such men deserve to be remembered. Deeply moved by the evidence of Christlike fortitude which they had witnessed, they pressed forward and shook the hand of the sufferer, assuring him of their sympathy. For this act of unforgivable compassion they were fined "forty shillings or be whipped." In the course of the next few weeks thirteen persons were punished for daring to express sympathy with Obadiah Holmes.

Nor was this all. The thirst for blood is a fearful passion. Holmes lingered for some days in Boston, and several people professed faith in Christ and were baptized by him. Forthwith the magistrates issued fresh warrants for his arrest, and he barely escaped, departing by night from the city of wrath. In speaking of the event he says: "I was, by the good hand of my heavenly Father, brought home again to my dear relations, my wife and eight children; the brethren of our town and Providence having taken pains to meet me four miles in the woods, where we rejoiced together in the Lord." So he had a triumphal entry again into his home town.

In thinking of the protest of Obadiah Holmes, and his courage and dignity under the lash of his torturers, we cannot but be reminded of the words of Bishop Latimer to his fellow-martyr, Bishop Ridley, as the flames wrapped their bodies about at Smithfield: "Be of good comfort, Master Ridley, and play the man; we shall this day light such a candle by God's grace in England as I trust shall never be put out."

The rage of the Puritan inquisitors did not relax, but the light lit by Clarke and Holmes was never extinguished, and today it lights a continent. When the First Baptist Church in Boston was organized, fourteen years after the outrages that have just been described, the authorities both civil and clerical began a campaign of imprisonments, fines, social ostracisms, and political deprivations and penalties, which continued for more than a hundred years. Yet with heavenly constancy and courage, the scattered groups of struggling Baptists continued their God-directed contest for liberty of conscience and the separation of Church and State.

In 1651 Dr. John Clarke and Roger Williams took their memorable journey to England in behalf of a second charter for the Rhode Island and Providence Plantations. Obadiah Holmes was chosen in Clarke's stead as pastor of the Baptist Church in Newport, and continued to serve in that capacity until Clarke's return in 1662. Thenceforth he acted in the capacity of associate pastor until Clarke's death in 1676; then he served as full pastor for six years more.

His devotion to that church for thirty years was unswerving in solicitude and zeal. He gave himself to others with unselfish consecration. His counsel was constantly being sought by individuals, and by groups and churches. His pleas for soul-liberty elicited profound attention. He became an outstanding Christian leader of wide influence in the colony, and his talents and strength were also recognized in all parts of New England. People could

never forget his sublime witness to the truth. They trusted and followed him. His character was stainless, his life an open book, and his intrepid spirit a source of enheartenment to others.

He preached Jesus Christ and him crucified. He was not powerful or eloquent in his preaching as was Doctor Clarke; but his downright earnestness and the nobility of his nature seemed to win and hold his congregations without effort. His loyalty to the simple and eternal principles of New Testament Christianity, as embodied in Baptist principles and practises, was a boundless inspiration to those who learned from his lips and followed where he led.

There were at times strong differences of opinion amongst the members of the Newport church, but such a condition of affairs is common in churches of the independent order, where every man's views are respected and may be freely expressed. For instance, there was the case of Samuel Hubbard and his friends. Hubbard was a lawyer in Newport, a business man also, and at one time Attorney General of the Plantation. He was a preacher as well, and held his membership in the Baptist church. He and Holmes went on at least one evangelistic tour together, visiting Long Island, then known as Dutch Island.

When the three persecuted Newport men, Holmes and the others, lay in Boston jail the church appointed Hubbard to visit them in their distress. The chief peculiarity of this lawyer was that he believed that Saturday should be observed as the Sabbath.

With a lawyer's pertinacity he clung to this idea, emphasized it, discussed it and exploited it, until the church had become a place of considerable controversy. The upshot of it all was that Mr. and Mrs. Hubbard and several friends whom they had influenced, left the mother church and organized the first Seventh Day Baptist Church in America. We are informed by the records—and we are happy to repeat—that although the separation was attended by warm and honest controversies, it caused no hard feelings, and personal friendships and fellowships continued without disturbance.

Holmes sustained with admirable poise throughout the years three important relationships. He was loving and sympathetic in his care of the church, perfectly fearless in his attitude as a champion of liberty, and wise and energetic in his duties as a citizen. People leaned upon him; they looked to him for counsel and direction; this is always the lot and portion of the natural leader of men. In 1655 he was one of the jurors for the General Court. Again and again he served as one of the eight court commissioners, constituting the General Assembly. In matters of governmental concern his advice was sought on all critical occasions. Everywhere throughout the colonies he became known as a tremendous force for freedom and righteousness.

After his preaching excursion to Long Island and its vicinity he showed a strong personal interest in that part of the country, and communicated that interest to his family. He was one of the twelve patentees named in the original patent from the

Duke of York for the Monmouth grant in East Jersey; and he held landed interests there. His name and that of his eldest son, Captain Jonathan Holmes, appear among the organizers of the Baptist church in Middletown, East Jersey. Three of his sons settled almost within sight of each other, Jonathan at Middletown, Judge Obadiah on Staten Island, and Samuel at Gravesend, Long Island. His daughter Lydia became the wife of the distinguished Captain John Bowne, and they lived first at Gravesend and afterward at Middletown.

Another daughter, Sarah, married Richard Salter, and their daughter Hannah became the wife of Mordecai Lincoln. Mordecai and Hannah were the parents of "Virginia John" Lincoln, the great-grandfather of Abraham Lincoln. May not one here discern the persistence of elemental principles, the heritage of the ideals of freedom? The direct descent of the great Emancipator from the great Baptist Dissenter, at least furnishes food for thought and speculation. Another daughter, May, married John Brown, son of Rev. Chad Brown, second pastor of the First Baptist Church of Providence, and their descendants became generous benefactors of Rhode Island College, whose name was changed in their honor to Brown University.

The "Holmes documents" brought to light in 1910, contain much information regarding the Confessor and his family. Especially interesting is his declaration covering the whole ground of his religious belief and practise, and the messages written by him in 1675, in anticipation of his death. The

latter are directed to his friends in general, to his wife, to his children, and to his "dear and well-beloved brethren, the Church of Christ at Newport."

These messages reveal the heart of the man; and what a manly heart it was! In the long letter in which he addresses the faithful sharer of his joys and troubles for more than forty years he begins: "My most dear wife, my heart hath ever cleaved to thee ever since we first came together, and is knit to thee in death." He thanks God in his remembrance of the Divine goodness, "giving us love one with and to another . . . with his rod and his staff he has comforted us." With many words of gracious benediction he recounts the mercies of God to them in their lovely life together and then beseeches his wife to "cease from thy labor and great toil and take a little rest and ease in thy old age."

He could with comfortable satisfaction counsel his beloved one thus to take her rest and ease. He had been careful and farseeing in his provision for the future, and he left an excellent property, so that he could say, "Thou hast enough and to spare if his good pleasure be to let thee enjoy the same." His children also had proved wise and honorable and were all in positions of honor and prosperity.

To his children he speaks with the honest pride of an affectionate father who can rejoice in the faithfulness of his sons and daughters:

> You are near and dear unto me and much upon my heart as I draw near to my end. . . My dear children, above all things in this world let it be your care to seek the kingdom of heaven and his righteousness first and above all things. . .

It has been my joy to see your love one to another, let it continue to increase. . . Next to the loving and fearing the Lord have you a most dear and tender respect for your faithful, careful, tender-hearted, loving and aged mother.

He died on October 15, 1682, and was buried in a private burial-ground on a farm that he had owned for twenty-two years, five miles east of the town of Newport. Some forty of his relatives and descendants are buried in this "Holmes Burying-Ground."

As we have already seen his personal and family relationships bulk largely in his life history. With all his greatness as leader and valiant protester, he was always gentle and affectionate. His eight children who grew to maturity became men and women of distinction in the colonies. In 1790 it was estimated that there were five thousand of his descendants in America; that number must have since increased two or three hundredfold. This is noble Anglo-Saxon stock, permeating a nation with such elements of stability and moral vigor as constitute the most sacred possessions of a mighty people.

There is no finer figure in our history than that of this large-souled lover of truth whose fearless advocacy of the Baptist principle of spiritual liberty imparted virility and sacred beauty to the struggles of a group of elect spirits for the right of religious independence.

X

JOHN HOWARD

Philanthropist

JOHN HOWARD: c. 1727–1790

I. Introduction: Doctor Stennett and John Howard.

II. Life of an Ordinary Man:
1. Birth and growth.
2. Student and grocer.
3. Travels and marriage.
4. Scholar, traveler, and prisoner.
5. Frees fellow prisoners.
6. Second marriage and happy years of quietness.
7. Death of second wife.
8. Illness.
9. Elected high sheriff of Bedford.

III. Life of an Extraordinary Man:
1. Vigorous beginnings:
   (1) Inspection of Bedfordshire prisons; finds abuses.
   (2) Enlarges his area of inspection; more abuses.
   (3) Forces House of Commons to make inquiry.
   (4) Thorough investigation of English and Welsh prisons.
   (5) Parliament passes two important bills.
   (6) Howard's qualifications for his work.
2. Intensive labors:
   (1) Two visitations of Continental prisons.
   (2) Publishes book describing investigations:
      a. Frank statement of conditions.
      b. Constructive plan of reform.
      c. Effect of the book.
   (3) Private life a key to his great achievements.
   (4) Convict hulks; a third Continental inspection; again visits English prisons.
   (5) A second book.
3. Wide areas of influence:
   (1) Appointed supervisor of new penitentiaries.
   (2) Honors, and later labors.
   (3) Wide range of his travels.
   (4) Interview with Emperor of Austria.

IV. Results:
1. Constructive reforms.
2. Betterment of prison conditions.
3. Particular improvements.

V. Closing Scenes:
1. The last journey.
2. Ministry to a stranger in a strange land.
3. Death ends a Christlike life.

JOHN HOWARD

Philanthropist

Dr. Samuel Stennett was a militant Baptist preacher in the city of London. The Stennetts were a family famous for such preachers, and Samuel was the fifth and last of the group. On a certain Sunday, along in the middle years of the eighteenth century, a quiet and diffident young man took his seat with the rest of the congregation in Doctor Stennett's church. He was not a man to be looked at twice. Undersized and unimposing, very thin and with a sallow complexion, he appeared somewhat feeble in health, and his visit caused no comment. Yet that little man was destined to be known to future generations as the greatest philanthropist of his age; and his monument was the first to be erected within the sacred precincts of St. Paul's Cathedral.

He listened with eager attention to the sermon, and quickly thereafter a warm friendship sprang up between the visitor, John Howard, and the learned and eloquent preacher to whom he had listened on that day. Many years later he wrote to Doctor Stennett from Smyrna:

> The principal reason of my writing is most sincerely to thank you for the many pleasant hours I have had in reviewing the notes I have taken of the sermons I have had the happiness to hear under your ministry. These, sir, with many of your petitions in prayer, have been and are my

songs in the house of my pilgrimage. With unabated pleasure I have attended your ministry; no man ever entered more into my religious sentiments, or more happily expressed them. It was some little disappointment when any one else entered the pulpit. How many Sabbaths have I ardently longed to spend in Wild Street; on these days I generally rest, or, if at sea, keep retired in my little cabin. It is you that preach, and I bless God, I attend with renewed pleasure.

Doctor Stennett was not only the author of "Majestic Sweetness Sits Enthroned Upon the Saviour's Brow," "On Jordan's Stormy Banks I Stand," and other well-known hymns; he was also one of the foremost Baptist controversialists of his day. Constantly in his writings and in his sermons at Little Wild Street Chapel he set forth the elemental principles of the Baptist faith. In saying that "no man ever entered more into my religious sentiments," John Howard affirms his Baptist attitude, and his life testifies to his fearless acceptance of the essential doctrines of Baptist democracy.

John Howard was not a minister, and he was never obliged to struggle with the woes of poverty. But his character was singularly saintly, and he used his modest wealth only to help others and especially to minister to the unfortunate. He was born at Enfield about the year 1727, the son of a merchant, whose large upholstery business was situated at West Smithfield, London. On the early death of his mother he was placed in the care of a tenant of his father, who lived at Cardington, a village quite near to Bedford.

From there he was sent to a Protestant Dissenters'

school at Hertford where he remained until his sixteenth year. John Worsley, the master of the school, was a somewhat learned man; he knew a great deal, but failed in dismal fashion when he tried to instruct others. Very frankly John Howard declared that "during the seven years I was under his care I learned nothing correctly."

So on leaving school he possessed only a negligible smattering of knowledge, but his father was convinced that he had studied quite long enough for one who was to enter upon a business career. He apprenticed his son to a firm of wholesale grocers, paying the large premium of £700 (or some $3,500) for his apprenticeship, in order that he might have special advantages and courtesies in his efforts to master the business. He was allowed his own private apartments, had a servant to attend his wants, and two riding-horses as a diversion in his hours of leisure.

The young man had no taste whatever for the grocery business. He was not by nature designed to be a grocer. On the death of his father, two years later, he at once arranged with his employers to leave their service as soon as his contract would allow. At the age of twenty-one he went abroad and traveled for two years on the Continent, the first of the multitudinous journeys that were destined to occupy so large a portion of his life.

He returned in ill health, and ill health dogged his footsteps and impaired his pleasures through all the years. He engaged rooms in the home of a widow lady, who cared for him so devotedly in his illness

that he subsequently married her, perhaps in gratitude rather than for love. She was fifty-one and he was twenty-four, but they lived in quiet happiness until her death three years later.

While his wife lived he gave most of his time to close study, making up in some measure for the time he had lost at school. So diligent was he in his pursuit of philosophy and of the crude science of that day, that certain accurate meteorological observations that he made caused him to be elected a member of the Royal Society. Immediately upon his wife's death he set out on his travels again, and an unexpected and distressing incident of that tour changed and fixed the whole current of his future career. On his way to Lisbon the packet on which he had sailed was attacked by a French privateer and captured. Both crew and passengers were treated with extreme cruelty. They were landed at Brest, shut up in a filthy dungeon of the castle, and promiscuously huddled together without being given either food or water. Finally a single joint of mutton was thrown in amongst them, which they devoured as well as they could without knife or fork to aid them.

In this vile place they were confined for a week, treated with brutal cruelty, and obliged to sleep on a scanty supply of loose straw, which failed to protect them from the chill of the damp floor at night. Then they were removed to Morlaix and afterward to Carpaix. In his quiet and charming way, John Howard secured the confidence of the prison officials; and after a few weeks he was allowed to visit En-

gland under the condition that he would return if the British government refused to exchange him for a French naval officer.

Meanwhile his friends, hearing of his imprisonment, had been making strenuous efforts for his release. To their astonishment he suddenly appeared amongst them. They made immediate preparations to celebrate his return with appropriate rejoicings, but he forbade them, telling them of the conditions on which he had been released, and assuring them that if an exchange could not be effected he felt himself bound in honor to return to his state of captivity. Fortunately the government readily consented to the exchange, and he was again at liberty.

Instantly he entered upon an intensive campaign for the release of his fellow prisoners. With that keenness of mind and common sense which always characterized his actions he had already, while in confinement, obtained an array of definite facts with regard to the treatment of English prisoners in French prisons. He now added to that information by correspondence and otherwise. With a startling list of the barbarities actually practised he went before the commissioners of sick and wounded seamen. Through their intervention his former fellow prisoners were released, and all of the prisoners of war confined in the three prisons to which he had especially directed his investigations, were sent home to England. Their deliverance was due entirely to his exertions.

In the period that followed his release from prison he enjoyed his happiest years before the massive

labors of his prime began. He married a lady of rare beauty and great accomplishments. Soon after their marriage she sold many of her jewels and put the money into a bag which, by mutual consent, she and her husband called their "charity purse." It was consecrated to the relief of the poor and distressed, and it was constantly being emptied and filled again.

For six years they lived together in perfect harmony and joy. Then, a few days after the birth of a son, their only child, Mrs. Howard died in her husband's arms. The blow was staggering, almost overwhelming. John Howard lost all interest in his fine estate at Cardington. Again he went abroad, for he had a passion for travel. His weeks of residence in Italy were a source of agitation to his liberty-loving soul. The pope passed him, in the midst of a procession of stately pomp, and he refused to kneel, as the crowds about him knelt. This caused some of the cardinals intense displeasure. One of his friends has said that "No individual was ever more sensible of the value of religious liberty than he." Regarding freedom of conscience as essential to the full development of man's powers, he witnessed with mingled pity and anger the "ludicrous ceremonies and corrupt practises of the Romish church."

He returned to England and to Cardington in depressed spirits and precarious health. A trip to Ireland and Wales left him in a state of even greater debility. But he was always well enough to do good, and in the midst of his sufferings he planned and carried into effect a scheme for the comfort of his

JOHN HOWARD

Philanthropist

many tenants, building for them neat and attractive cottages with flower gardens and kitchen gardens, in sunny and healthful locations.

He had a marvelous influence over his tenants in moral and religious matters, and no place in all England was more wholesome and thriving than the village of Cardington. So highly was he regarded that in 1773 he was elected high sheriff for the County of Bedford. It was an action of far-reaching significance. Into his new office he threw himself with the ardor of a strong and completely unselfish nature. His first action was suggestive. Remembering vividly his own prison experience he at once made careful inspection of the prisons, inquired into the manner in which the inmates were treated and the methods of discipline employed, and supervised a campaign of improvements.

This visitation, together with his former intimate acquaintance with certain French prisons, determined him to devote himself exclusively to the work of prison reform, and the correction of the innumerable evils and abuses which infested those places. The inception of a vast undertaking has a curious interest; it is like tracing the waters of a mighty river to their hidden source amongst the hills. Fortunately we have John Howard's own testimony describing the definite beginnings of his crusade.

It all commenced with the matter of fees. He found that in Bedford County the jailers received no salaries, but depended upon the fees paid on the discharge of prisoners. Frequently prisoners who had been declared "not guilty" by the judges or

juries, were kept confined for months and even for years, in default of payment of certain fees. If they could not pay the necessary amounts assessed upon them, whether innocent or guilty they were dragged back into jail and held there until they or their friends could find sufficient money to free them. This was altogether wrong.

Sheriff Howard carried his grievance to the magistrates. They retaliated in the ancient fashion: Others have this rule; why not we? This pleading of precedent led the indignant sheriff to visit the jails of Cambridge, Northampton, Leicester, and about sixteen other county seats. He found the same injustice practised in all of them.

But he also found much more. He found tiny courtyards for exercise, jails located in unhealthy places, damp cells lacking air and light, rock-dungeons far underground, prisoners kept on the verge of starvation, prisoners herded together without respect to age or sex, and various other offensive conditions. After a short Christmas rest with his young son at Cardington he inspected twelve more jails, and then rested.

Finally he returned to London. His brain was overbrimming with information and his heart with indignation. He had acquired a mass of memoranda concerning the abuses in English prisons which he forthwith began to sort out, classify, and systematize. Even already he had made himself an authority on a matter of which the public was profoundly ignorant, the whole matter of prison discipline. Some time previous Mr. Popham had introduced a

bill into the House of Commons, providing for the abolition of all fees to jailers, in cases where the prisoners had been acquitted. But the bill had failed of passage.

Now John Howard enlisted the support of a relative, Mr. Whitbread, who as a member of the Commons introduced a bill of inquiry into the management of prisons. According to arrangement John Howard was requested to appear at the bar of the House to give evidence. He made his statements succinctly and vigorously and answered all questions promptly and clearly.

His exposition of abuses and the great body of facts which he presented were eye-openers to most of the members. His simple descriptions of the scenes of misery that he had witnessed and his judicious suggestions of remedial measures, deeply impressed his distinguished audience. At the close a vote of thanks was tendered him by the unanimous action of the House. He returned to his home giving thanks to God for making him a messenger of enlightenment at the seat of the nation's government.

His labors had now fairly commenced. Without delay he went on with his inspection, visiting all of the large prisons in and about the metropolis and some of the smaller ones. Then, after a brief rest, he started on a more elaborate visitation. Quiet, determined, open-eyed, attentive to every detail, and classifying all discovered facts, he made his rounds, until before the end of eight months he had inspected almost every jail and prison in the entire territory of England and Wales.

Also he watched the progress of affairs at Westminster. As a result of his revelations two bills were almost immediately passed by Parliament, one providing for the payment of the fees of felons when they were discharged, out of the county rates; the other safeguarding the health of the prisoners while they were in confinement. These were the first two positive results of his propaganda. They were, definitely, the swift and positive results of the work of this one man, unaided.

Throughout his entire life he possessed to an unusual degree the power of intense and understanding sympathy for the sufferings of others. He possessed also an alert and investigating mind, what is sometimes called "the mind of the scholar," eager, penetrating, exact. In addition to these two major qualifications he was able to explain facts clearly to others, and to urge, with steady perseverance, the methods of action that would secure changed conditions. Above all he was a man of God. Every day began and ended with God. His diary and his intimate letters reveal him as a man of fervid prayer and Christlike devotion.

By the autumn of 1774 he had inspected fifty prisons in fifteen counties. In January he started forth on a similar study of the prisons of Scotland and Ireland. In Glasgow, where he found wise management and unusual attention to sanitary conditions, he was cordially received and presented with the freedom of the city.

On his return home he examined carefully the mass of information which he had accumulated, pro-

posing to arrange it for publication. He decided that in order to make it complete it would be necessary to combine it with facts of value in connection with the operation of foreign prisons. Accordingly he set out for Paris in April.

He was refused entry to the Bastile, but was allowed by the authorities to visit other French prisons. This he did by availing himself of an ancient law which enacted that all jailers should admit to places of confinement any individuals desirous of bestowing charitable donations on prisoners in their custody, and permitting such persons to distribute their bounty with their own hands. As the kind-hearted philanthropist was in the habit of doing this very thing he welcomed the chance of inspecting the prisons under such conditions.

From France he passed on into Belgium, Holland, and Germany. Then he returned to England and revisited many prisons there, and before the close of the year he had made a second extensive visitation on the Continent. Of these journeys of inspection it is not necessary, nor is it possible, to speak in detail. It is interesting to notice, however, that the visitor was surprised and deeply chagrined to find that the prison conditions in Belgium, in Holland, and even in France, were far superior to those in England. The prisons were better constructed and better regulated. He confesses the humiliation which he felt at this discovery, and asks his fellow countrymen in blunt fashion " whether idleness, debauchery, disease, and famine are the necessary, unavoidable attendants of a prison."

At the close of each of his journeys on the Continent he went the rounds of many of the English prisons again. He found discipline either too lax or else barbarous in its cruelty. He found prisoners huddled together in cells that were dark and loathsome, all ill-fed, most of them nearly naked, without any means of religious instruction, left in idleness to corrupt each other and to sink lower and lower in moral degradation. "Can this England be a Christian land?" he asks.

After three years of ceaseless labor he retired to the home of a friend and former tutor, Rev. Mr. Densham, and there prepared for the press his work on *The State of the Prisons in England and Wales, with Some Account of Foreign Prisons.* It was a large quarto volume of more than five hundred pages, embellished with four engravings. It was characteristic of the spirit of the man that, in order that it might be widely read and pondered, he fixed the price so low that he was a heavy loser financially by its publication.

Two ideas dominate the book. The author exposes without mercy the pernicious customs prevalent in English prisons, indicates the lamentable errors of administration and deplorable looseness of regulation, illustrating all of his charges by definite facts; and he also outlines plans of wise construction and judicious and decent management. He strongly emphasizes the human and humane elements that should enter into the whole work of reorganization, as when he says, "The first object must be to find a good, honest, and humane man for a

jailer, taking care not to admit to that office either an innkeeper or a sheriff's officer."

The need for an exhibition of morality and sympathy in the control of prisons, and the vital necessity for providing religious privileges, lay at the very center of all his suggestions of reform. A chaplain should be appointed to every prison, who should be of a truly Christian spirit, and who would not content himself with merely officiating in public. He should converse daily with the prisoners, admonish the profligate, exhort the thoughtless, comfort the sick, and make known to the condemned the mercy that is revealed in the gospel.

Few of us today can appreciate the effect of this book upon all classes of the British public. Nothing like it had ever been published before. The singularity of the subject considered, the vast wealth of information that it contained, the frank and fearless exposure of enormous evils that it set forth, and the fair and Christian temper that it exhibited, caused it to be "the book of the year," and almost "the book of a century." Besides this, sensible people realized that, with extraordinary exactness and at great personal sacrifice, a man of wealth and standing had been devoting years of his life, at great expense, and under the handicap of ill health, to a class of people whom men despised. He had inaugurated a great moral reform in a spirit of complete unselfishness. It was an astounding revelation.

How marvelous it is that one man could achieve so much! How strange it is that one lone man could move a nation!

Certainly the Divine Spirit was at work in the heart of John Howard. No one ever recognized more fully the need for a valiant personal faith. He knew that in his much traveling, and in his constant contacts with worldly men and with evil conditions, he was in danger of losing the freshness and ardor that spring from intimate communion with God. So he was ever reenforcing his inner self by prayer and the study of God's Word.

To him the Bible was the veritable message of God Almighty to the human soul. In this belief he never wavered. To him also prayer was a vital reality. In a private memorandum he writes:

> Let me not forget that time is always on the wing; and that the period when I shall have to give up my final account is every moment hastening on. God grant that I may not only live but die in the faith; approving and heartily embracing the gospel. Let every darling lust be mortified. Let me put off every evil desire and put on bonds of mercy, as the servant of Christ. Bring home to my heart, O God, the sacred truths of the gospel, and for the sake of the Redeemer, let me be an everlasting monument of Thy free and sovereign grace. Never let me grow weary in well-doing!

During the few months that he spent in England after the appearance of his book, this good man was bereaved in the death of his only sister. By this event he came into possession of personal property amounting to the equivalent of $75,000, besides a valuable estate. He regarded this as a dispensation of Providence, allowing him yet greater means for the prosecution of his benevolent life-mission.

He next proceeded to investigate the methods em-

ployed in the management of the convicts on board the hulks at Woolwich and elsewhere. Soon after the publication of his book the author set forth on another of his continental journeys. This carried him into Switzerland and Italy. He inspected hospitals as well as prisons. In Italy he was startled to find the every-day prevalence of crimes, due to robbers and assassins. "More murders," he says, "are committed by these desperadoes in a year in the one city of Naples than in all of England, Scotland, and Ireland together."

He had suffered much in spirit on account of the barbarous penal laws of England. Now, after making the above comparison, he asks, "Does not this show that the English are not naturally cruel, and might not arguments be derived from it for the revisal and repeal of some of our sanguinary laws?" It may be added that the marked amelioration of the inhuman penal laws that took place in England in the next thirty years was largely due to John Howard's own vigorous protests and appeals.

This journey with another tour amongst British prisons furnished him with material for his second book, which he entitled *Appendix to the State of Prisons, etc.* It formed a quarto volume of 220 pages, and was followed by the republication of his original work in a cheaper edition. Both works had a very wide circulation, and were afterward published in many succeeding editions. Their pages abounded in judicious suggestions. They appealed to people because of their sanity and practicality.

Both of his books contained a mass of greatly

needed information which had never before been given to the public. It was important information; it was accurate; it was intimately related to the whole matter of good government and good citizenship. It was not a picture of horrid conditions, a sensational display of prison evils and tortures. It was a carefully collected, collated, and classified presentation of vital facts.

The author tells us in the first of his two volumes that he could easily have filled his book with dramatic disclosures of a variety of tortures as practised in different lands of Europe. Such a "horrid narrative" might have ensured the rapid sale of the book, but it would have pandered to abnormal tastes. Also, it would have suggested to heartless jailers new modes of torture with which they had been unacquainted, and would have induced these ferocious officials, of which there were all too many, to introduce these vicious methods into the institutions under their jurisdiction.

The members of the government read with care what he had to say, and determined to put into immediate effect one of his remedial plans, that which proposed the erection of large model penitentiaries under national control. They chose him as principal supervisor of these institutions. Soon after he entered upon the labors of the office, however, he resigned because of the narrow obstinacy of one of his colleagues in a matter of vital import to the success of the plan. He was no man for quarrelsome entanglements.

In June, 1782, he received the honorary degree of

Doctor of Laws from the University of Dublin, during a journey of inspection throughout Ireland. Later in the year he spent several months in thorough study of the prisons and hospitals of Spain. In the next year he carried his investigations into Russia and Poland, and then visited the cities of the Eastern Mediterranean. Indeed, the last nine years of his life were completely crowded with the most strenuous labors in many different countries.

The amount of ground that he covered was astonishing. We who live in a day in which distance has been annihilated, and men fly from one corner of the earth to another in the twinkling of an eye, can hardly realize how slow were the methods of locomotion in his time. In Spain he traveled many hundred miles by mule-back, just crawling along, and being obliged to carry all of his provisions with him. From city to city he went in this way, along rough paths and through the mountain fastnesses. He always pushed forward, often in the midst of storms above and mud beneath. Beds and mattresses were frequently lacking at his stopping-places, so he slept on the bare boards of the floor. He early became accustomed to the presence of insects, foul odors, dampness, cold, and the threat of disease.

His whole heart was set upon the relief of the unfortunate. He spoke his mind "before kings and magistrates" for Christ's sake. For instance he was invited to a private interview with the Emperor of Austria. Count Kaunitz, the prime minister, brought the invitation to him in his humble lodgings. He declined the interview, saying that he was leav-

ing Vienna the next morning. So eager was the Emperor to talk with him that he asked the British ambassador to wait upon him, saying that he would meet him the next morning at any hour John Howard should choose. This was condescension indeed on the part of His Imperial Majesty.

Still he hesitated. He said that conscious though he was of the high honor conferred by the invitation, he would have to decline unless he were allowed freely to speak his mind. He was assured of such liberty. So he met the monarch and talked with him for two hours. With a clearness and frankness which fairly caused His Majesty to gasp for breath, he described the evils in the hospitals, the insane-asylums, and the prisons that he had visited. "I opened freely my mind. It pleased God to give me perfect recollection of the conditions in the various places, and great freedom of speech."

The bold utterances of this mild-mannered man, and his exact knowledge of things as they were and things as they should be, completely captivated the Emperor. He shook his hand warmly, thanked him again and again for his visit; and when he had taken his departure, told his prime minister that "that Englishman is without compliment or flattery, but he has manliness and spirit." The Emperor straightway made a keen personal inspection of his prisons and other public institutions; and at once thereafter began a series of reforms that had a far-reaching and beneficent effect.

Sometimes things did not go quite so well. The governor of Upper Austria once called upon him, ac-

companied by his wife, a countess of high social rank. They asked to be told about the prisons in their territory that John Howard had inspected. "They are," he said, "the worst in all Germany, especially in their treatment of women prisoners." Then, after giving details, he said earnestly, "I would recommend that the countess visit them personally now and then, as the best means toward the correction of abuses." "I," cried that worthy lady, "*I* visit prisons! Never will I consent to such degradation, never!" Quoth John Howard in reply, "Remember, madam, that you are a woman yourself, and must ere long, like the most miserable female in a dungeon, inhabit but a small space of the earth from which you came." This was quite too much for the countess. She instantly flung herself from the room and descended the stairs so rapidly that Howard was apprehensive that she would injure herself by her haste.

There are so many different kinds of people in the world!

But, it may be asked, was anything worth while accomplished after all? Or was John Howard simply an alarmist and an agitator, who talked much and achieved little? Did most officials and people of influence react to his counsel as the countess did, and go forth from his presence in rage and high resentment?

Of course there were kings and governors and superintendents and sheriffs and jailers, to say nothing of the politicians, who waxed wrathful, and very impudent, against the persistent little reformer who

knew so much about their business. But the wise ones everywhere came to understand full well that he was no wild alarmist. They saw that his exposures were based on the solid granite of fact. What he knew he knew, and what he knew was so.

His honesty won right-thinking men to his standard in every land to which he journeyed. He wrought well, astoundingly well, and he brought results. In England and in many other lands definite and constructive reforms grew out of his investigations and revelations. It has been truly said that all his recommendations and suggestions came from the most mature deliberation, friendly consultation, and a singularly comprehensive view of all the issues involved.

His individual exertions effected incalculable good. In England, naturally, the largest results appeared. His exposure of evils, and this alone, led to the almost simultaneous erection of new prisons, of excellent construction and under wise regulation, in almost every county in both England and Wales. In a dozen different countries of Europe the whole prison system came under fresh governmental scrutiny; and in multitudes of cases his suggestions for the cure of evil conditions were followed out. In attention to matters of moral and religious instruction the initiative supplied by him had a tremendous effect. In the improvement of sanitary conditions and in the choice of jailers and other prison officials a remarkable and almost immediate advance was due to his efforts.

Early in the month of July, 1789, John Howard

left the shores of England on his last journey. He had a presentiment that he would never return. On the occasion of his last visit to the church that he loved so well, the Baptist Church in Little Wild Street, London, he said to an intimate friend who sat near him: "Well, we shall not perhaps meet one another again till we meet in that place where there is no parting." These words were prophetic. He visited every one of his tenants, his schools, and each individual of his community whom he had in one way or another befriended, giving them affectionate farewells. They felt strongly, as he did, that they would never see him again.

He took his way through Holland and Germany to Königsberg, and on to Riga, St. Petersburg, and Moscow, visiting the Russian military hospitals. He observed there, as he had done elsewhere, the use of alcoholic liquors, a custom that he strongly opposed. He says in the very last entry that he ever made in his journal: "Many disorders, I am persuaded, proceed from the use of spirituous liquors: what care should be taken that none is sold in the hospitals!"

He had often exercised his knowledge of medicine in the case of sick prisoners and had acquired some celebrity as a physician. Arriving at Cherson, in Russian Tartary, a message was brought to him from a young lady of distinction, who was ill of the plague, begging his attention. He traveled twenty miles through a heavy rain and in the face of an intensely cold wind, to minister to her need. He did everything for her that was possible, remaining many hours; but she died the next morning.

Two days later he was attacked with the disease and died after a few days, a victim to that disinterested devotion to the suffering of others, which had been the keynote of his life. It was the twentieth day of January, 1790, in the depth of a Russian winter, and far from his home and all his loved friends, that he passed to his great reward.

His heart overflowed with generous sympathies. Men speak of him as a reformer; it is better to call him a big-hearted philanthropist. He loved and he gave. He lived for men. He toiled for their good.

In his religious outlook he was a moderate Calvinist and a Dissenter. His friend and pastor at Bedford for several years, Rev. Joshua Symonds, to whom he frequently wrote when abroad, and to whom he left a legacy in his will, was a Baptist of the "strict" type. John Howard agreed heartily with the historic contentions of the Baptists for a faith founded wholly on Scriptural teaching, for the restoration of apostolic simplicity in the church, for a regenerate church-membership, and for absolute liberty of conscience. Beyond this he held to those "open-communion" and "open-membership" views of the General Baptists which are common to most of the churches of that denomination in England today. Though perhaps not formally, yet always in attitude and spirit, he was loyal to the fundamental Baptist faith.

He was a consecrated and Christlike soul. Sincerity, simplicity, and freedom were the watchwords of all his high endeavors in behalf of his fellow men. In his diary he wrote shortly before his death:

It is my ambition to put on the Lord Jesus, and to have the same mind in me which was in Him. Health, time, powers of mind, and worldly possessions are all for God. Do I consecrate them to Him? Help me to do so, O God!

His whole life of faith and patience of hope and labor of love were a radiant manifestation of the "grace, mercy, and peace" that are bestowed upon him who denies himself and takes up his cross daily and follows Jesus Christ.

XI

ANDREW FULLER

Strenuous Theologian

ANDREW FULLER: 1754–1815

I. A Youthful Preacher:
   1. A farmer boy devotes his life to God.
   2. At seventeen a preacher; at twenty-one an ordained pastor.
   3. His spirit and consecration.
   4. Minister at Soham and at Kettering.
   5. His speech and personality.

II. Astute Theologian:
   1. Three tendencies:
      (1) High Calvinism.
      (2) Liberalism.
      (3) Evangelicalism.
   2. Fuller a moderate Calvinist:
      (1) A preacher of redemption.
      (2) Freedom for all peoples.

III. Missionary Prophet:
   1. Modern missions.
   2. Fuller's constructive methods.
   3. His famous missionary sermons.
   4. Founding of a Society.

IV. Christian Publicist:
   1. Difficulties:
      (1) Lack of vision.
      (2) High Calvinism.
      (3) Financial stress.
      (4) Ridicule.
   2. The impossible task achieved:
      (1) A miracle of change.
      (2) Fuller's crusade.
      (3) The help of three friends.
      (4) A country-wide campaign.
      (5) Diary details.
      (6) Results.

V. The Laborer at Rest:
   1. Enormous toils.
   2. Faithful unto death.

ANDREW FULLER

Strenuous Theologian

A massive man, with heavy features and a resonant voice, commanding in presence and as fearless in spirit as he was courageous in argument and debate—such was Andrew Fuller.

He was born in 1754, at Wicken, seven miles from the cathedral city of Ely, in Cambridgeshire. A farmer's boy, he was the child of generations of farmers who had lived in the same region of country. He grew into adolescence with little education, no cultural influences, few beckonings of ambition, or experiences to stimulate high purpose—a typical son of the soil.

He was inclined to be rather wild in his ways, and he had fallen in with a group of evil associates. At the same time he was tender-hearted and his conscience was so active that his own ways did not by any means satisfy him. He began to think deeply on things that concerned his soul's interests. On a certain day in March, 1770, he went out of curiosity to see the baptism of two young persons by the pastor of the Baptist church. They were immersed on profession of their faith in Christ. It was a novel experience, for it was the first occasion on which he had ever been present at a New Testament baptism. He was profoundly impressed, and as he thought upon the matter he was convinced that such faith

and obedience as he had witnessed were demanded of every one who would be a true Christian.

Andrew Fuller possessed throughout life the faculty for quick decisions. In this instance he acted with his usual promptitude. He gave his whole being to God and religion. Within a month he had offered himself to the church and been baptized into its fellowship. Instantly a new life of opportunity opened before him.

When he was seventeen years old he preached his first sermon. The Baptist church in the village of Soham, which he had joined, soon came to be at odds with its pastor on account of the fact that he was a high Calvinist while they were more moderate, yet just as "set" in their Calvinistic proclivities. In those brave days many laymen as well as the ministers were full-bodied theological thinkers. Nor were there any half-way hesitations in the expression of their convictions. So the good minister had to go. In the course of the three pastorless years that followed young Fuller frequently occupied the pulpit, and a few weeks after he had passed his twenty-first birthday he was ordained as the regular pastor.

Soon after his ordination and settlement Andrew Fuller married. For seven more years he and his wife lived at Soham. During that time their temporal problem was how to live on the impossible salary of £13 a year. To eke out a livelihood he kept shop for a time, and for a time taught school, but neither of these side-ventures met with success. How he managed to win through those difficult years is a miracle. His diary during that period could be

read with great profit by many comfortably circumstanced clergymen of today. It exhibits a spirit of such beautiful faith and intense interest in the welfare of others as to subdue the heart of the reader. His whole life was lived on a lofty spiritual plane. His church consisted of less than forty members, mostly poor people, and some of them sad sinners whose erring ways caused their devoted minister much grief.

In a careful study of this diary we find some of the profoundest secrets of his enduring ministry. It shows forth his habit of incessant prayer. It indicates that constant study of the Scriptures that has been a veritable fortress of strength to every great leader of a militant Christianity. It portrays his desire to get close to men and their needs in order to exercise a truly productive ministry. It sets forth such an ever-growing conviction of the glory and simplicity of the primitive church, as has been both a revelation and an inspiration to so many of our Baptist heroes.

Illuminating and covering all else is the passion of the Cross. "Oh for some heavenly clue to guide me to the fulness of Christ"; "Through the glass of my depravity I see, oh I see, the preciousness of that blood which flowed on Calvary"; "Dejected through worldly and church concerns, but had some relief tonight in casting all my care upon the Lord. The Lord undertake for me!" By such outpourings of heart and deepenings of the spirit this English youth, quite untrained in the learning of the schools, a companionship of poverty, living amid depressing

scenes, unconsciously prepared himself for the battles and victories of the years that followed.

Paul counseled Timothy not to let any man despise his youth. Just such words, suggesting strong faith and a wholesome self-confidence, might have been addressed by old Doctor Ryland or some other hoary-headed saint to the rapidly maturing young farmer lad, Andrew Fuller. Already he had become "a man in understanding." He was called from the obscure village of Soham to the town of Kettering, and to an important and vigorous church. There he remained as pastor until his death in 1815, a period of thirty-two years.

Andrew Fuller had his definite limitations. He never became a mighty pulpit orator. Because of his fame in later days, as a theologian and religious publicist, people flocked in large numbers to hear him, and he preached more widely than almost any man of his time. But he possessed few of the gifts of the eloquent speaker.

His forceful personality compelled attention. He instructed his listeners, being naturally a leader and a teacher rather than a preacher. So it was in private life. He neither charmed nor entertained the social group. His words were apt to be harsh, his ways unpolished, and his manners brusque. He expressed abhorrence of "the heartless complaisance of a Chesterfield." Certainly between the entire outlook of an urbane and courtly Chesterfield and a plain and robust Andrew Fuller there was a universe of difference. Fuller was essentially and always a rugged saint, a "man of the people."

ANDREW FULLER

Strenuous Theologian

Wherein, then, lay his unquestionable power? Perhaps an answer can be given in half a dozen sentences. He had remarkable intellectual gifts. He saw clearly, wrote in a simple yet compact style, and spoke with natural fervor and strength. He dedicated all his energies and talents to God. His love for human souls caused him to swing away from the Calvinistic doctrines of iron-clad election and reprobation. Believing thus in a freer and more human gospel he wrought with passionate intensity to awaken men to interest in world-evangelization. The combination of these attributes made him one of the most effective religious leaders of his age.

Andrew Fuller was animated by a magnificent devotion. Wherever he discerned a wrong he set out at once to demolish it and to establish in its stead that which was right. There was much that was wrong in the religious life of England. Many of its most righteous men were High Calvinists. Now High Calvinism may be well enough in its way, but it is a bad way. It provides no room nor place for evangelistic and missionary operations. It is apt to be heartless and inhuman.

Matters of technical theology may seem to be very remote from the every-day life of the every-day man. They deal with logical propositions rather than with red-blooded life. Yet the acceptance or rejection of these same propositions may make a lot of difference with the character of a man or the destiny of a nation. It is necessary for us to be theologically minded at this point in order to understand the drift of things.

In Fuller's day there were three main tendencies in theological thinking. One of these was Calvinism, rigid, severe, intolerant. Another was liberalism, lax, worldly, easy-going. The other was the evangelical movement, fervid, Christly, sacrificial.

Calvinism was gloomy and fatalistic. The offering of Christ on the Cross was for the "elect" and for them only. The atonement availed only for those who were chosen by the Almighty from the beginning of the world to be saved; everybody else was foreordained to be damned. No human agency of any sort could avert the fall of the ax, the execution of the tragic fiat.

Liberalism went to the other extreme. "God would never dare to damn a gentleman." Decency and morality were preached; spirituality was quite completely ignored. Religion in the hands of such teachers became soft and pliable, a pleasant luxury rather than a passionate devotion. Many of the churches belonging to the group called General Baptists were tempted into this soporific faith, some of them afterward becoming definitely Unitarian. Thousands of individuals were lured by this attitude into scepticism.

Calvinism and liberalism united to produce a perilous stultification of the valiant and conquering forces of a full-orbed Christianity. It was the evangelical movement that electrified the life of England and aroused the dormant energies of a great nation.

It was the time of John Wesley and Whitefield, by whose zeal a vast religious movement was set in

motion, and a new denomination of Christians brought into being. It was the time of Charles Simeon, by whose fervor and wisdom the Anglican church was saved from apostasy, and the powerful evangelical or Low Church party came into existence. It was the time of Dan Taylor, the famous Baptist revivalist, whose preaching inspired a reawakened love for the essentials of the gospel of grace in the hearts of multitudes.

Andrew Fuller was brought up amongst the "Particular Baptists," who for the most part adhered to a rigid Calvinism. He always remained a Calvinist, but his whole active life was a vigorous protest against the narrowness of the higher Calvinism. The theologians of this stripe, and their followers, said: "Whom God elects will be saved. They are sanctified because they are divinely elected. Even though they are guilty of all sorts of sin and iniquity they are destined to eternal life because the imputed righteousness of Christ envelops them and redeems them."

To invite outsiders, men in general, to believe in Jesus Christ is impudence and presumption. Such things are in God's hands. He will have mercy upon whom he will have mercy. Even Dr. John Gill, the most learned Baptist of his time, was charged with holding this point of view. What a perversion of the gospel, what a deadening of the normal outflow of Christian sympathy, what an almost blasphemous denial of the Great Commission, such an attitude involved. It meant the standardizing of religion in a fixed form of Divine favoritism.

It was Andrew Fuller's tremendous task to awaken the Baptists of England to a larger view of the demands and privileges of the glorious gospel. He taught what was called "a modified Calvinism." Solemn preachers in stuffy pulpits were busy with the "edifying of the elect." Fuller came like a whirlwind into the midst of these dull and perfunctory assemblies with the dynamic message of a salvation for all men who would turn from their sins to their Saviour. The field is the world. Christ died for the ungodly, and "whosoever believeth in him shall not perish, but shall have everlasting life."

Because the great-hearted Andrew Fuller, the prophet of redemption and hero of faith, dared to modify the hopeless harshness of hyper-Calvinism, the modern missionary movement, with its immensity of purpose and illimitable range of vision, was successfully inaugurated. He, more than any other man of his time, freed the souls of Christian people from the shackles of a paralyzing conservatism. He proclaimed liberty for all nations.

His constructive work started soon after he began his ministry in Kettering. In a noteworthy pamphlet he urged the necessity of union in prayer for a revival of true religion. He instituted meetings for prayer amongst the ministers of his neighborhood. He secured the passage of resolutions in Associational gatherings, advising the setting apart of an evening each month for special prayer and the extension of the gospel. By these and other means he supplied the powerful impetus which aroused the missionary spirit, and quickened it into action

amongst all the religious denominations of England and America.

He had a profound sense of the infinite worth of every human soul. He was especially interested in the salvation of young people, who were not an object of concern to many of the ministers of Christ in his day. He constantly poured out his heart in intercession for them, and gave himself freely also to the little children of his community.

The central passion of his soul, however, was the urge of world-evangelization. In his diary are frequent entries such as this: "Found my heart go out to the children and youth of the congregation." But he evinces the breadth of his heart's desire in many a prayer of this sort: "Lord Jesus, set up thy glorious and peaceful kingdom all over the world."

The most remarkable movement in the history of the church is that of modern missions. Today there is hardly speech or language in which the voice of Christ is not heard. So thoroughly orthodox is this enterprise that to deny its divine authority is to set oneself in the midst of the loose company of illiberal liberalists and sneering sceptics. An incomparable marvel is the growth of this world-girdling venture of faith.

Its origins were humble enough. William Carey was the spiritual soldier of fortune in whose heart burned a passion for the redemption of the race. He was the elect pioneer, the stirrer-up of the souls of men for the undertaking of the Holy War. Andrew Fuller was the constructive genius who organized the forces to conduct and control the campaign.

The monthly meetings of ministers and the monthly prayer-services in churches, carried forward in a spirit of reverent consecration, contained the living germ which grew to its first fulness of strength in the formation of the pioneer modern missionary society. Little by little Fuller came to understand the meaning of missionary opportunity and obligation. In 1784 he organized the ministers' meetings and praying bands. In 1785 he preached his famous sermon on "The Gospel Worthy of All Acceptation." In 1786 he heard William Carey preach at the ministers' meeting in Northampton, and their first interview resulted in the establishment of a life-long friendship. During the years immediately following, their intimacy constantly deepened and their opinion of the need for Christian missionaries became an overmastering conviction.

They came to feel that all delay was dangerous when the Lord commanded action. At the gathering of ministers in 1791, Fuller preached a notable sermon on "The Pernicious Influences of Delay." The assembled group forthwith passed a unanimous resolution to the effect that "something must be done." This declaration sounds vague and generic, but Fuller was encouraged by the attitude which its passage conveyed. So he proceeded to make it definite and specific.

Six months later, in May, 1792, the Association met at Nottingham. An atmosphere of expectancy prevailed. Carey preached his epoch-making sermon, in which he implored his hearers to enlarge the place of their tent, to preach the gospel to the

heathen world, to liberate the captives of sin in "the regions beyond." At Carey's request Fuller followed the sermon with a resolution calling for the preparation of a plan for the organization of a missionary society, to be presented at the next meeting of the ministers. Four months later this meeting was held, the plan discussed, the Society formed. Fuller was chosen as its Secretary.

In this appointment he found his supreme life-task. In a spirit of humiliation and prayer the strong man set himself to the mighty work. Consider for a moment the difficulties that lay in his path. The Established Church of England had no foreign missionary society. None of the non-conforming bodies had ever formed such an organization. Even the Methodists, full of evangelizing zeal as they were, had not lifted up their eyes to behold the fields white to the harvest in the far stretches of the Empire and in regions yet more remote.

Further than this the prevalent high Calvinism repudiated all efforts at soul-winning, even in the homeland. The capitalists, and their hirelings the politicians, were determined that no effort should be made to interfere with their greed and rapacity in overseas dependencies, which they were busily exploiting in their own interest. Also, the country was groaning under its heavy load of taxation, and greatly incumbered by the expenses of the war in America, and afterward by the demands of the campaigns against Napoleon. How could funds be obtained for so visionary an enterprise as that of these "missionary fanatics"?

The opinion of England with reference to the new undertaking of foreign missions is crystallized in the words of Rev. Sydney Smith, the most brilliant essayist of his day:

> The duties of conversion appear to be of less importance, when it is impossible to procure proper persons to undertake them, and when such religious embassies, in consequence, devolve upon the lowest of the people. Who wishes to see scrofula and atheism cured by a single sermon in Bengal? Who wishes to see the religious hoy riding at anchor in the Hoogly river? or shoals of jumpers exhibiting their nimble piety before the learned Brahmins of Benares? This madness is disgusting and dangerous enough at home. Why are we to send out little detachments of maniacs to spread over the fine regions of the world the most unjust and contemptible opinion of the gospel? The wise and rational part of the Christian ministry find they have enough to do at home to combat with passions unfavorable to human happiness, and to make men act up to their professions. But if a tinker is a devout man, he infallibly sets off for the East. Let any man read the Anabaptist missions: can he do so without deeming such men pernicious and extravagant in their own country—and without feeling that they are benefiting us much more by their absence than the Hindoos by their advice?

When Andrew Fuller undertook the seemingly impossible labor of converting England to a belief in foreign missions, he had the whole world against him—save a little company of praying saints in the Midlands. These people were as destitute of culture, wealth, power, and influence as the insignificant group of Galileans, poor fishermen and artisans, who stood up to face a universe in arms against them, and uttered their immortal challenge of faith.

Three centuries saw the Roman Empire pervaded

and transformed by the immortal message of the Cross. Thirty years saw English and American Protestantism converted to the missionary idea and transfused by the missionary spirit. This amazing miracle was achieved through the dauntless determination of Carey and his comrades abroad, and Fuller and his fellow apostles at home.

William Carey had gone forth with the express understanding that "there is a gold mine in India: I will go down and explore it, but you must hold the ropes." Chief amongst those rope-holders was Andrew Fuller, and he held the ropes with the grip of a Titan. For twenty-three years and until the day of his death, he acted as Secretary of the Society. His ceaseless advocacy of the cause of world redemption was as truly a battle for freedom as that which was waged by his Baptist predecessors in the lordly line of heroes, Hübmaier and John Smyth, John Clarke and Roger Williams.

He carried forward his crusade in the midst of domestic trials as well as in the face of all that public scorn and pitiless opposition to which we have referred. His eldest son, trained from infancy in the ways of religion by a devoted father, almost broke that father's heart by his idleness and dissipation. A beloved daughter was taken from him after a long and painful illness. His first wife was insane for some time before her death.

Besides all this he had a wearying struggle with poverty. Some of the most prominent Baptist leaders, who had been his friends, contended fiercely against his theological opinions, both in pulpit and

press. His own health, though he seemed to be unusually robust of body, was frequently broken through his heavy labors and many serious afflictions. He suffered several severe illnesses, one of these being a paralytic stroke, due directly to his overwhelming anxiety at the time that the possibility of Carey's departure for India seemed hopeless, because of the rabid opposition of the Government and the East India Company. He was beset before and behind, yet his faith increased through persecution and his soul was refined and purified by the discipline of fiery sorrow.

Now what of his campaigns? These began when Carey sailed for India. Throughout their course he had the sympathy and help of three friends, tried and true. One of these was John Sutcliff, pastor of the Baptist church in Olney; another was the younger Dr. John Ryland of Northampton, a scholar of parts and a leader of men; and the third was Benjamin Pearce, pastor at Birmingham, a Christian of princely devotion to the King of kings, a young man of exceeding great promise, whose early death was mourned by a multitude of loyal and loving friends.

Fuller consulted these good men constantly, but his was always the guiding and convincing personality. His first journey in the interest of the new society carried him only a short distance from home, but his field of operation quickly broadened. He was a bold adventurer, ever carrying into new territory the banner of the Cross, the story of mercy and hope for all mankind.

In his speaking as in all his writings, Andrew Fuller was singularly clear and direct of speech. His simplicity of style reached rapidly the hearts and consciences of his hearers. He used often to say, "I just tell the mission tale," but it was that "old, old story of Jesus and his love," that touches the tenderest chords of men's inmost being.

He had no natural eloquence; he spoke at the Spirit's urge. He had no swift-moving railway trains; he rode on horseback, often along rough country paths, facing the hindrances of rain or sleet or the retarding ooze of miry roads. He had no elaborate and highly organized Society to back his undertaking or cheer him on his way; Protestant Christendom possessed no such skilled bodies of executives, and he was blazing an untrodden trail through the wilderness.

He was surrounded by none of the parade which in many instances of more modern days has inevitably attached itself to all sorts of religious institutions; he made his way quite unheralded and unattended. He went here and there, not as a distinguished member of a Missionary Commission, but as a lonely traveler, bearing a new and weighty message. That message meant duty and struggle, unaccustomed obligation as well as heavenly privilege, so men were loath to receive it and slow to obey its summons.

Yet great results of overwhelming importance for the Christian world of the future, waited upon his momentous ministry of grace. Many times he traveled throughout England; he made five journeys

to Scotland and one to Ireland; he kept in constant and close communication with the missionaries in India to the East and with the friends of missions in America to the West.

The entries in his diary give a vivid picture of his prayers and toils. One of these may be quoted as an illustration of many. It was written just before one of his journeys through Scotland and is dated October 2, 1799:

> I am going out for a month altogether among faces which I have never seen. I go to make collections for the translation of the Scriptures into Bengalee. The Lord keep me in the way I go and enable me to keep my heart with all diligence. O that I may be spiritual, humble, and watchful in all companies. May the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ prosper my way. May the God of Israel preserve my family, friends, and commissions during my absence.

And after he had spoken in Glasgow:

> My heart was dismayed at the sight. Nearly five thousand people attended, and some thousands went away unable to get in.

These sentences exhibit at once the sweet humility of the man, and the intense interest which his name and mission had begun to awaken. It is not too much to say that all England and all Scotland were thrilled by the glory of the missionary idea. On the occasion just mentioned, and during his month's visit to Scotland, he collected the equivalent of about $5,000, preached nearly every evening, and undoubtedly set in motion influences which bore abundant fruitage in the months and years that followed.

The effect of his words was solid and abiding. He could not coruscate. He lacked brilliancy. He disliked mere emotional display. But his heart was aflame and his words were penetrating and powerful. He appealed to the intellect as well as the feelings, and this twofold appeal aroused the will to action. He was always after the wills of men. He wanted them to pray for missions, to give money to missions, and to sympathize deeply with the missionary movement. By galvanizing the will-activities of his auditors into energetic labor for God in behalf of the unsaved souls of heathendom he performed a permanent service of extraordinary value.

Not only did he achieve superb results as a Christian publicist and a promoter of Kingdom enterprises; he was also an executive and intercessor. He was the honored intermediary between the ever-broadening mission in India and the ever-deepening interest at home. Difficulties between the Society and some of the missions developed at times as years went on; the task of solution and reconciliation lay chiefly with him. He carried the burden of India on his heart.

When the mission press in Serampore was burned, entailing a loss of $60,000, it was Andrew Fuller who issued an appeal to the Baptists of England and followed this with an intensive campaign through the churches, so that in a few weeks more than enough was secured to erect a new and commodious building and to equip it with up-to-date presses. That was his way of doing things. All that he did

he did well and thoroughly and triumphantly—and he was ever planning and doing.

His favorite maxim throughout life was, "Whatsoever thy hand findeth to do, do it with thy might." He incarnated the spirit of that maxim. He continued his efforts for the mission and for mankind in general, up to the very last. A fatal disease had him in its grip. For one full year before he died he was living "on his nerves," or on faith, or by the sheer exercise of his dominating will, according to our point of view.

During that time, though he was a dying man, he toured the midland counties, made two visits to the North of England, preached and spoke on missions constantly, took part in several ordination services, carried on his voluminous correspondence, prepared his last two books for the press, and performed all of his pastoral duties. When a friend advised him to rest his weary body he replied: "I cannot spare the time to nurse myself; I must labor as long as I can." The fatigue of writing a letter would almost exhaust his strength, yet he forced himself to preach and travel and hold conferences, so determined he was to use every fleeting hour for God.

During the last three months of his life, unable now to travel, and suffering fearful distress, he worked at his desk for twelve hours a day. On April 28, 1815, he wrote to his dear friend, the younger Doctor Ryland, "We have enjoyed much together, which I hope will prove an earnest of greater enjoyment in another world." Then speaking of his hope of salvation through the atonement

of his Lord and Saviour, he continued: "With this hope I can go into eternity with composure. Come, Lord Jesus! Come when thou wilt! Here I am; let him do with me as seemeth him good!"

On Lord's Day, May 7, he heard the congregation singing in the church adjoining his house. He said to his daughter, "I wish I had strength enough." "To do what, Father?" "To worship, child," and he added, "My eyes are dim." An hour later he was gone.

So died this man of unconquerable ardor and of uttermost devotion to the Lord Jesus Christ.

XII

WILLIAM CAREY

Founder of Modern Missions

WILLIAM CAREY: 1761–1834

I. The Hero of Serampore: Educator, Scholar, Man of Vision.

II. Boyhood and Youth:
1. Love of travel and of Nature's marvels.
2. Swift growth.
   (1) Conversion and marriage.
   (2) Begins preaching.
   (3) Becomes a Baptist; eminent Baptist friends.
   (4) Moulton ministry.
   (5) A missionary publicist.

III. The Year of Crisis:
1. Three important happenings:
   (1) The Tract.
   (2) The Sermon.
   (3) The Society.
2. The Associational meeting.
3. Plan for a Missionary Society.
4. Birth of the Society at Kettering.

IV. A New World Movement:
1. Money and men for missions.
2. Carey and Thomas sail for India.

V. Difficulties:
1. Foes of the East India Company:
   (1) The Government.
   (2) The Anglican Church.
   (3) The High Calvinists.
2. Illness and other evils.
3. Life in Sundarban and Mudnabatni.
4. Settlement in Serampore.

VI. Foundation-Laying at Serampore:
1. The missionary group.
2. The first convert, Krishna Pal.
3. Completion of Bengali New Testament.
4. Professorship.
5. Herculean labors.
6. Educational and missionary interests.

VII. The Master Workman:
1. Six lines of productive activity.
2. Growth of the Mission.
3. A cosmopolitan company.
4. Printing plant burned and rebuilt.
5. Fight for freedom in Parliament.
6. Trouble in the Mission.
7. Evening days.

WILLIAM CAREY

Founder of Modern Missions

In a corner of an ancient graveyard in the Indian town of Serampore, stands a brick and plaster monument above a humble grave. It bears the simple legend, *William Carey,* with the dates of birth and death, and below an inscription dictated by the man whose earthly remains lie buried there:

> A guilty, weak and helpless worm,
> On thy kind arms I fall.

Some distance from the cemetery, on the slope of a hill and in a commanding position, stands the stately Serampore College, a noble structure, erected more than a century ago for the higher education of natives and the training of native Christian pastors and evangelists. This also is a monument to the life and work of William Carey.

In the library of the college are two long rows of quarto and folio volumes, containing translations of the Bible or portions thereof, in thirty-six of the languages and dialects of India. Nearly all of these translations were made by Carey himself. This prodigious piece of work is also a monument to William Carey, and to his colaborers, Marshman the scholar and Ward the printer and publisher.

It is true in the history of the Christian church that " Knowledge comes, but wisdom lingers." Men

have knowledge without wisdom, and sight without vision. The men of vision have wrought for the church her greatest victories, in every age. Most men who looked upon the patched pieces of paper hanging upon the wall of Carey's cobbler shop in Kettering, saw a crude map of the world, and nothing more. But Carey had insight and wisdom. To him, as he looked, there appeared the vision of nations in darkness, of a world lost in sin; while in his heart there echoed and reechoed the last command of his Master: "Go ye into all the world—and preach the gospel."

William Carey, illustrious servant of the Most High God, was the father of modern missions. He was born in Pauler's Pury, Northamptonshire, England, in 1761, and died in Serampore, India, in 1834, at sunrise on a day in June. He had crowded the labors of a score of ordinary men into his lifetime of seventy-three years.

His grandfather, Peter, was the first master of the Charity School in Pury, and Edmund, son of Peter and father of William, held the same office at a later time. The school building housed the schoolmaster and his family, and William had his early home in a schoolhouse and his father for his teacher.

His uncle Peter, who had emigrated to Canada, pushed his way into the "Far West" and came back to his native land with many tales to tell of travels and escapes. He became both mentor and hero to the lad. The returned voyager settled down as a gardener at Pury, and the small boy was constantly

in his company, learning from him two wondrous lessons—love of nature's marvels and an interest in growing things; and an earnestness of desire for bold adventuring in distant lands. His boyhood friends gave him the nickname of "Columbus" because he evinced an eager love for travel, and the stirring story of Columbus "entranced him more than the fiction of Robinson Crusoe." The young Columbus was destined to become as great a discoverer, as valiant an adventurer in the realm of the spiritual as Christopher himself in the sphere of the physical.

His early life attracts our admiration. He is there shown as a friend of the birds and the flowers. Under his uncle's instruction, he caused the soil at the rear of the school dwelling to bloom with a beauty so rare that no garden in town could match it. Accompanied by his little sister he would range the fields and woods for bugs and birds. Nature's mysteries were a source of ceaseless fascination to his ardent spirit.

From a passion for the works of God in nature he soon came to possess a passion for the works of God in grace. Weak in body, he was early apprenticed to a shoemaker in the neighboring village of Piddington, since his physical frailty unfitted him for toil in the fields. John Warr, another apprentice, slightly older than he, and a militant dissenter, became deeply interested in the boy's welfare. It was he who led him to Christ. William Carey's family had always been Anglicans, but he gradually overcame his scorn of dissenters, attended prayer-meet-

ings with Warr, and at eighteen became a member of the "Meeting" at Hackleton, another near-by village.

When still a boy in years, at the age of nineteen, Carey married. At twenty-one he began his ministry as a lay preacher, walking twelve miles to his preaching appointment once every fortnight, and receiving as salary not quite enough to cover the cost of the shoes and clothes he wore out in the service.

A sermon in defense of infant sprinkling sent Carey to his Bible. Searching eagerly and long, he came to the conviction that baptism was ordained only for those who should come consciously to due repentance and faith. Such study of the New Testament has created many mighty Baptists, through the ages. William Carey made his decision. At early dawn on a Sunday in October, 1783, he started from home on a five-mile walk; and at six o'clock that same morning he was baptized by old Dr. John Ryland in the river Nen at Northampton.

It was at this time that he came into contact with three of the half-dozen most remarkable men of the day in Baptist circles. One of these baptized him and set his footsteps in the way of a steady faith. Another, John Sutcliff, persuaded him to give himself diligently to the study of Latin. Catching the fever of linguistic study, he went swiftly on, and quickly mastered Greek, Dutch, and Hebrew. The third good man was the illustrious Andrew Fuller, and it was he who induced William Carey to give his life to the gospel.

It may be thought that Carey had no mind or purpose of his own, since he had to be coaxed into these forms of Christian activity. It must be remembered, however, that he was only a poor journeyman cobbler, earning his daily bread by hard work, insignificant in personal appearance, and quite unlearned and ignorant; while the men who urged him forward were three of the recognized leaders of Baptist life in England. They saw marks of promise in the young man, and evidences of real genius. Nor was his response a hesitant or reluctant one, for he soon became a force to be reckoned with, and honored in the councils of the denomination.

The whole-hearted young workman was already spreading his influence abroad. He was baptized at Northampton and now availed himself regularly of the ministers' meeting there. He cobbled shoes, making new ones and buying, mending, and selling second-hand ones, at Piddington. He aided by various means the dissenting church at Hackleton, of which he was still a member. He preached on alternate Sundays at Earls Barton and Pury End. A goodly portion of his time was spent in studying various languages and in considering the master-plan of his life, the conversion of the heathen world. The intensities of his later years were already beginning to function valorously. And, tradition to the contrary notwithstanding, we have clear evidence that he made first-class boots and shoes. Nor did this brave and gentle soul forget his garden, which with its gay and brilliant colors was the marvel of the neighborhood.

To his many other labors he now added that of teaching, for he moved to the town of Moulton and opened a school. He also became the pastor of the Moulton Baptist church, being duly ordained, with Andrew Fuller, Ryland, and Sutcliff officiating at the service. He was well and becomingly clad on that occasion, for Miss Tressler, a good lady of the village, had gone from door to door and secured enough money to purchase for him a new black suit. Only clergymen and those in mourning for dead relatives, wore black coats in those days. This Moulton ministry soon became rich in the redemption of souls, chiefly amongst the promising young people of the place.

From the first William Carey was a liberator of men's minds from the narrow dogmas of the time. At the Northampton "Ministers' Fraternal" it was customary to call upon the members in turn to suggest themes for discussion. The first time young Carey was thus honored he rose and submitted the proposition: "Whether the command given to the apostles to teach all nations was not binding upon all succeeding ministers to the end of the world, seeing that the accompanying promise was of equal extent." Thus bluntly and openly the Moulton minister proclaimed his heresy. It was then that Doctor Ryland made his memorable onslaught upon the future missionary chieftain. Born and raised under the enslaving severities of a rigid Calvinism, Ryland had not yet freed himself of its iron grip. Springing to his feet, he cried out, in his vehement fashion: "Young man, sit down, sit down! When God pleases

WILLIAM CAREY

Founder of Modern Missions

to convert the heathen he'll do it without your help or mine. Also, there must first be another pentecostal gift of tongues."

There was scant missionary literature in the world in those days. But the lives of two great American pioneers, John Eliot and David Brainerd, had been published, and the story of their sacrificial labors amongst the Indians inflamed the soul of William Carey. His constant study of the Bible sealed with divine authority the record of such men, and he was fully determined to follow in their train.

He had the instincts of the born adventurer, combined with a singular devotion of spirit to the plain teachings of the Scripture. Besides the biographies just mentioned, two sorts of books came under his eye and he read them with avidity, the *Voyages of Captain Cook,* and the published records of the Moravian and Danish missionaries. Roused by these books, faced day and night by the ominous fact of a world lying in heathen darkness, and hearing ever in his heart the challenging command of the Master, he became the veritable incarnation of the missionary spirit and the dynamic preacher of a world-embracing message of salvation.

He talked with ministers about this matter, he addressed ministers' meetings, he appeared at associations with his single and insistent demand for action. Grave old men tried to silence him again and again, but he would not be silenced. He spoke of a world in chains that must be freed, of perishing millions who must be reached, and if possible redeemed. To many somnolent souls he became a per-

tinacious and irritating young upstart, and to placid consciences a stirrer-up of uncomfortable emotions. So it has been with every flaming apostle of a new and spiritual freedom.

Naturally modest and unassuming he became a roaring lion in the cause of revealed truth. He was forever talking in his intense way about broken barriers, open doors, and a free gospel for the lost races. As Andrew Fuller had persuaded William Carey to become a preacher, so William Carey sought out Andrew Fuller and retaliated in like manner by persuading him to become an advocate of foreign missions. As a matter of fact, not much persuasion was needed, for Fuller's reformed system of Calvinism had already shown him the duty of preaching salvation to sinners wherever they should be found.

Thus things went for several years. Largely by the method of direct personal appeal the youth won a strong group to his radical opinions. Then came the memorable year of crisis. In our Baptist annals the story of the events of 1792 will shine with the glory of stars and suns. In that year William Carey published his famous tract on *An Enquiry Into the Obligations of Christians to Use Means for the Conversion of the Heathens.* In that year William Carey preached before the association at Nottingham his epochal sermon, from the text, "Enlarge the place of thy tent . . . spare not, lengthen thy cords and strengthen thy stakes; for thou shalt break forth on the right hand and on the left;" and named the two subdivisions of his sermon, "Expect great things from God; attempt great things for God,"

a phrase that became one of the chief rallying-cries of a marching Christendom. In that year the first Missionary Society of modern times was formed in Kettering, by a little group of Baptist ministers, and the initial step was taken in the work of world-evangelization.

Those three events are worthy of devout attention. In 1492 a new world came to light; in 1792 a prophet of God rediscovered old worlds and brought them to the ken of Christian peoples. The printed pamphlet was such a startling summons to a world-wide crusade as had not been uttered since the days of Paul. The associational sermon was a fiery challenge to a sleep-drugged Zion to awake and put on its strength. As a wise man has said, "I call that sermon of Carey's wonderful, because there has, perhaps, been no sermon preached in modern days, which has had so distinct and traceable an effect on Protestant Christianity throughout the world." The missionary meeting in Widow Wallis' back parlor in Kettering was the inauguration of a movement which has proved to be the most tremendous effort for the emancipation of the human soul that has ever been undertaken or conceived by the mind of man.

Carey's sermon, which was the direct cause of the missionary organization, struck unerringly at the root elements of spiritual dearth. "Clearly did he prove," said Ryland afterward, "the criminality of our supineness in the cause of God." But he did not leave his hearers in the doldrums, woe-stricken and despairing. He spoke of the many harbingers of hope

in the new democracy and widening vision of the time. He outlined a bold program. He pointed the way to victory and spiritual freedom.

The morning after Carey's fervid appeal the association went into business session before adjournment. We are told that small grants were made to two struggling missions, that half a guinea was voted to each of four poor ministers to defray their traveling expenses to the meeting, and that five guineas were appropriated to the anti-slavery campaign. But how about Carey, and the world still in darkness beyond their doors? How about "the perils of delay," of which Fuller had recently spoken in a powerful appeal? As a matter of fact the association was about to close its final session without further action. Timid, conservative, unequal to the task of launching a vast and responsible enterprise, the good brethren were about to "close with prayer and the benediction."

It is a thrilling and terrible moment. It is one of the crucial moments of religious history, pregnant with possibilities of good or evil destiny. If this crisis shall pass, and the chance be missed, years and even decades may pass without a similar great opportunity. Unless action be taken Carey cannot go to India and the voyage of the church's life for a full generation may be "bound in shallows and in nothingness."

In agony of spirit, William Carey turns to Andrew Fuller, seizes his arm and cries, "Will they dissolve the meeting and do naught?" He has appealed to the right man, to the one man in that

assembly who is ready to respond full-heartedly to the appeal. Fuller calls a halt, asserts with his usual energy the need for instant action, and persuades his brethren to launch forth into the deep.

The motion which saved the day, which put in definite statement the burning zeal of Carey's soul, and which set in motion all the vast machinery of modern missions, took this plain and undramatic form: "*Resolved*, That a plan be prepared against the next Ministers' Meeting at Kettering, for forming a Baptist Society for Propagating the Gospel among the Heathens." Thus the die was cast!

It seems a tame and insignificant resolution, but it contained within it the germ of an abounding life, as the acorn the promise of the gigantic oak. It set the feet of a group of earnest Christian men on the highway that led to evangelistic achievement. Besides that, it brought two men into a blood-brotherhood, a profound fellowship of understanding sympathy, which continued for more than twenty years, and until death transplanted that holy fellowship from earth to heaven.

"The Particular Baptist Society for the Propagation of the Gospel Amongst the Heathens" was born on October 2. Thirteen ministers crowded together in the small room where the meeting was held, and one layman, young Joseph Timms, a wool-stapler and deacon of the Kettering church, who acted as host to the party. Was it merely by accident that the number of ministers was the same as once assembled in the upper chamber in Jerusalem, at the institution of the Holy Supper?

At the close of the discussion the Society was organized and the condition of membership was fixed at " not less than half a guinea." Every man present except one set down his name as a charter-member, and the total subscription list reached the sum of £13 2*s* 6*d*. Singularly enough the one name that does not appear upon that list is the name of William Carey. Why did he not give? Probably because it had taken all of the money the poor man possessed to make the journey to Kettering and return. Was Carey then the only man who did not give to this new mission enterprise? No, he also gave. What then did he give? He gave—himself! He gave all that he was, and had, and hoped to be. He gave " more than they all! "

The last to enter his subscription was a humble young minister who had been studying at Bristol College and had happened in at the meeting, seemingly by chance. He signed himself on the list as " Anon," but his name was William Staughton. Years later he emigrated to America and became one of the foremost Baptist leaders and pulpit prophets of his time, and the initiator of far-spreading movements in the denomination overseas. It was said of the great Doctor Staughton that " hearts of ice would melt near his. His whole soul was in missionary enterprise."

Two problems follow upon the organization of a missionary society—how to find missionaries, and how to find missionary money. In the case before us, as always, God worked through loyal hearts, and behold an answer to both problems! Rev. Benjamin

Pearce, " the angelic Pearce," as he was called, went home to Birmingham on fire with zeal for the new project. Appealing to his people he received an instant response which crystallized in pledges amounting to £70. Another minister, Mr. Fawcett of Yorkshire, had soon collected £200. Other subscriptions came in from all directions. Even a few of the London churches began to catch the flame of enthusiasm.

As to missionaries, the leaders of the movement had not long to wait. Two men, in temperament and character as far apart as the poles, volunteered for foreign service within a few weeks after the Kettering conference. One of course was William Carey, who thus instantly put his powerful preaching and pleading into the form of practical action. The other was John Thomas. And who was this John Thomas, who now suddenly comes upon the scene?

John Thomas was a native of Gloucestershire. Impatient of home restraints he had as a boy entered upon a wild and picturesque career. After roaming far by land and sea he had become a navy surgeon and afterward a surgeon in the employ of the East India Company's ships. A profound religious experience changed his spirit. He was baptized and joined the Baptists. Soon he was known as a gospel preacher as well as a ship's doctor. He preached constantly to the men on shipboard, and ashore at ports where his ship touched. He spent years in India, translating, preaching, and evangelizing, while he also ministered to the people as a physician. Being in England at the time of the formation of the new missionary society, he volunteered for service

under its banner, and was accepted with Carey as one of its first two missionaries.

Thomas was impulsive, generous, erratic, irresponsible. In financial affairs he was like a wayward child. His debts and indiscretions were a continual embarrassment to the reputation of the mission, as well as to his own character and work. Nevertheless he was a big-hearted and unselfish man, and full of enthusiasm for the cause of missions.

On April 4, 1793, Carey and Thomas embarked on the "Earl of Oxford" for Calcutta. They had not been able to obtain a license to sail, and without such permission from government they were liable to arrest, forced return, and the confiscation of their property. By consent of the ship's captain, a friend of Thomas, they took the daring course of sailing without licenses. The ship anchored off Portsmouth, and rested there for three weeks, waiting for its convoy. News of the matter got abroad and the captain was warned that he would forfeit his command if he should be so foolhardy as to convey a missionary to India without leave of the Court of Directors. So the two men were put ashore, and the ship sailed without them.

During the next week, through the prodigious activities of John Thomas, arrangements were made for the sailing of the missionaries on a Danish ship. Despair was transformed into exceeding joy when Mrs. Carey who had been prevented from sailing by the "Oxford," arranged to accompany her husband, together with her children. Funds for the expensive fares of the family to Calcutta were ob-

tained, as though by magic. On June 13 the brave little company sailed from Dover, bound for Calcutta; and the new great mission enterprise was fairly started on its course.

For many years William Carey, and those who came to be associated with him in his redemptive undertakings, faced the fiercest possible opposition. The arch-enemy of missions was the East India Company, a powerful corporation, ruling affairs in India with a grip of iron and in the spirit of personal aggrandizement and extreme cruelty. The government of England was intolerant in its entire attitude toward the missionary crusade. The Anglican Church, conservative and State-controlled, looked with contempt upon the humble Baptist missionaries. The high Calvinists of all sects regarded the venture as something like treason against the Almighty. The Baptist churches, with the noble exception of a few in the Midlands, were indifferent to the whole matter.

There were many English people in India, diplomats, soldiers, civil officers, tradesmen, merchants, and adventurers. But they had taken no Bible and no gospel with them. Sir J. A. Kaye has said that "although the English in India were emerging from that absolute slough of profligacy and corruption in which they had so long been disgracefully sunk, yet there was little Christianity in Calcutta at the close of the eighteenth century."

William Carey went to India to save India for Christ. No man had ever gone to India before for that purpose. Yet how mountainous the difficulties

soon became! Thomas had hired a city house and resumed his medical practise. Carey had no such resource. The money the missionaries had brought was all exhausted. Mrs. Carey and the children were critically ill. The language of the people was still strange. The family were living in a disease-infested district, in a dilapidated house loaned to them by Nelu Dattu, a Hindu money-lender. No opportunity of occupation presented itself. Every door seemed closed. Starvation was the horrid fate that stared them in the face.

The little family were alone and friendless in the midst of seething hordes of people, amidst strange sights, corruptions, poisonous odors, weird noises, revolting ways and customs. Yet, in the very depths of his darkness and helplessness, William Carey wrote that he " felt the all-sufficiency of God and the stability of his promises: was enabled to roll all my cares on him."

After almost incredible woes a few acres of swampy jungleland in the thinly-settled Sundarban district was allotted to him, rent free for three years on condition that he would clear the land of timber and till the soil. Here he settled. Food was very cheap. He soon built a bamboo-and-mat house and planted a garden. It was not an ideal place. The river swarmed with alligators. At night tigers of the fiercest sort roamed over the very ground where men worked during the day. Monstrous snakes and deadly poisons abounded. But it was better than starvation.

After a few months, however, good fortune came.

In May, 1794, Thomas wrote to Carey a letter of contrite apology for his neglect of his friend, and offered him a position, which he had succeeded in securing for him, as manager of an indigo plantation. It was located at Mudnabatni, far north of the Sundarbans, and it took the little family twenty-three days to reach there.

Soon after they arrived at their destination, little Peter Carey, a beautiful child of five years, sickened and died of fever. Ague and dysentery affected the older ones, and soon Mrs. Carey, under the strain, became a victim of depression and morbid fancies, quickly deepening into insanity, which continued through the years. So William Carey was left terribly alone.

For five years and a half he remained in Mudnabatni. His secular duties he performed with his always eminent faithfulness. But he also mastered Sanskrit and several Indian tongues, preached, established schools, traveled amongst the villages, dispensed medicines to the sick, and gave himself in every possible form of loving ministry to the people.

In the early months of the year 1800 William Carey and his family journeyed to Serampore. The immediate reason for this change was the arrival of a group of missionaries, sent out by the English Baptist Society. Serampore was far more central and strategic than the distant up-river district. Serampore was Denmark's Bengal port, a beautiful and well-ordered town, and to the faithful missionaries a haven of rest and safety. It was the headquarters of Carey's work for the remaining thirty-

four years of his life. There "the immortal three" performed their mighty labors.

The newly arrived group consisted of the Marshmans, Mr. William Ward, the Fountains, the Brunsdons, and Mrs. Grant and her children, five families in all. Mr. Grant had died of fever just before the ship reached Serampore. These people, with the Careys, dared a great experiment. They entered at once upon a communal system of living, in accordance with the Moravian pattern. Ordinarily such a system is adapted only to saints and angels; for every-day mortals it is a Utopian scheme, which always comes to grief in the midst of human frailties.

In Serampore it proved such a success that it was continued through many happy years. It was an especially daring scheme in this case because frictions and misunderstandings had already broken out amongst the group on the ship's journey. How could all these people live together in harmony? Well, they did. It is true that Fountain and Brunsdon died within a few months, smitten by the fatal fever so common in that clime. The others lived in Christlike peace together, and it has been said that "the democratic basis of the Mission was a secret of its strength."

The new missionaries had been forbidden to land in Calcutta, and even from Serampore the brutal officials of the British East India Company sought to drive them forth. How were they to live in their new environment? Almost at once they entered upon two enterprises, the translation and printing

of the Scriptures; and, to finance this work and sustain their families, the establishment of boys' and girls' boarding-schools. The latter were successful from the start. Rich Europeans of various nationalities sent their children to these schools and willingly paid the necessary fees.

How Carey rejoiced in his new colleagues! "All have their hearts entirely in the work," he wrote. "Ward is the very man we needed. I have much pleasure in him, and expect much from him. Marshman is a prodigy of diligence and prudence. Learning the language is mere play to him. He has acquired in four months as much as I did in eight." Mrs. Marshman was a model of zeal and "extraordinary prudence."

That the children of India might be freed from the curse of sin was the burden of all prayers and the aim of all efforts. Carey, Marshman, and Ward formed the most marvelous triumvirate that the Christian world has ever known. Their labors were unceasing and prodigious. Until 1823, when Ward died, these three men worked in the most peaceful harmony, never once disturbed by quarrel or misunderstanding. They were indeed God's own men.

Seven years after William Carey's arrival in India a memorable Sunday dawned. On that Sunday, the last Sunday of the year 1800, the ordinance of baptism was administered. A great company assembled. Danes were there and Englishmen, Portuguese, and Frenchmen, and a great multitude of Hindus, Mohammedans, and Sikhs. On that day William Carey baptized his son, Felix, a lad of fifteen; and

then he led down into the waters of the Hooghly River the first Christian convert from the ranks of heathendom, Krishna Pal, a Hindu carpenter.

The crowds were silent and even reverent. The good old Danish governor, so loyal a friend of the missionaries, wept openly and unashamed at the sight. The missionaries were moved by a calm and sacred joy. A few days before, the emotional John Thomas, who was chiefly responsible for the conversion of this native workman, had written in ecstasy over the event: "Sing, soul, sing, sing aloud! Unutterable is my gladness. If thou canst, my soul, sing through thy tears a song of fifteen years. The fifteen years seem fifteen minutes now. One poor fox throws down Sanballat's wall. It seems to me the joy will never cease. O angels, see! Oh, this is bliss!" But John Thomas's high-keyed emotions drove him clean crazy for a time, and on the day of the baptism he was kept closely confined, under guard.

Krishna Pal remained a stanch and lovable Christian to the day of his death. It was he who wrote the hymn beginning,

> O thou my soul, forget no more
> The Friend who all thy sorrows bore.

He was evicted from his home, robbed, beaten, persecuted in many ways, but he stood like a rock in face of all opposition. His wife and two other relatives soon followed him into the baptismal waters.

March 5, 1801, was another day of holy festival, for on the evening of that day, the completed Ben-

gali New Testament, the fruit of William Carey's long devotion, was laid upon the communion table of the Mission chapel. What an historic moment in the annals of Christian Missions! A few weeks later the translator's gifts were recognized for the first time by the British government, and he, "the consecrated cobbler," was appointed professor of Bengali in the Fort William College at Calcutta. Soon Sanskrit was added to his task. The comfortable salary affixed to the position was treated as Mission funds, in accordance with the communal principle which had been adopted. The College had more than a hundred students, chiefly young civil officials from the Presidencies of Bombay, Calcutta, and Madras; afterward young military officers from the Fort were also admitted.

William Carey's labors from this time forth were stupendous. Half the week he spent in Serampore, the other half in the hitherto "forbidden city" of Calcutta. Teaching, writing, translating, preaching, and overseeing the various and ever-broadening activities of the Mission, his achievements became the wonder of the Christian world, and remain so to this day. Yet the quiet little man who wrought these wonders was quite unspoiled by his success. He was ever the modest seeker after truth, the genial companion and admirable friend, devoting his leisure to botanical studies, and making his beloved garden the floral gem of all India.

His salary was soon increased to the equivalent of $7,500 a year, and his counsel came to be valued and followed more than that of any other member of the

Faculty. His classes were the center of the literary activity of the College. For thirty years he continued to teach at Fort William and wrought more notably than any other man in the education of generations of young English officials. His interest in their spiritual welfare was intense, and during the years a large number of them gave their hearts to Christ, and became influential advocates of the Christian faith. For a score of years, also, Carey was one of the moving factors in the work of the Asiatic Society, which comprised in its membership the "Intellectuals" of India.

But his mission toils were always his paramount joy. The three evenings of each week that he spent in Calcutta were given over to preaching, and to gatherings for prayer. He passed his days in college lecture-halls; his evenings in ministry to Portuguese, half-castes, and natives. Matters in Serampore were now advancing rapidly. Krishna Pal's whole family became Christians. He composed many hymns and his home became a circle of song. Neighbors were attracted. Conversions followed. Soon two Brahmins joined the ranks. The fire spread. A noble young Brahmin of Calcutta was converted, and soon after was married by William Carey to Krishna's daughter—a high-caste Brahmin wedded to a carpenter's child! The more gifted converts were employed as evangelists. With every added month the work widened.

The labors of which we have spoken were the labors of all the years that followed. They embraced six distinct lines of productive action. In the first

place may be named his unremitting toil as a college professor. Here his constant contact with youthful minds helped to keep his own mind alert and creative. In this connection also he came into fellowship with all of Bengal's most learned Europeans and with India's ablest pundits. Then his translation work, which was stupendous. It was this man who gave the Scriptures in their own languages to the three hundred million people of India, as well as those of other Oriental lands.

His third task, that of preaching and personal work, he never allowed to fall into abeyance. With his two great comrades he pleaded with men for their souls. Baptisms soon became frequent, and through native preachers the mission undertaking broadened in all directions. In the fourth concern, that of oversight and executive control, William Carey was always the master spirit; this wise direction of the ever-increasing mission interests was another of his major duties. Then the overseas connections demanded ceaseless care. Here was a fifth employment. He wrote volumes to Andrew Fuller and others in England, to John Williams and Doctor Baldwin in America, and to other missionaries, as the world-wide impulse grew, in all parts of the heathen world.

His sixth important and vital activity was that of moral reform and philanthropic service. We may well consider this quite at length, for it indicates the immensity of his human contribution. William Carey was the first person to present to the Indian government a protest against the fiendish custom

of widow-burning, or suttee, which cost each year the lives of thousands of Indian women. All through the years he repeated his protest, and emphasized it by every sort of influence that he could command. The law which ended the custom was brought about largely through the efforts of two of his former students at Fort William, one of whom had become President of the Board of Trade, and the other President of the Board of Revenue in Calcutta. It was Carey's privilege to be the one to translate into Bengali, for immediate enforcement, the edict of government which ended forever this work of the devil.

It was Carey who established the first Christian hospital in all India. It was directly through his efforts that the first printing-press of any dimensions was established in India, and the first steam-engine and the first pulp-mill. In face of fierce opposition he made the first efforts to educate native girls and women and succeeded nobly in that effort, setting an example that has spread all over that vast land. He founded the first medical mission. He also formed the first Christian primary schools. He inaugurated more than thirty large mission stations. He was the founder of the first orphan asylum in the Orient. By his interest in child life he built beneficently for the future.

He was a skilled botanist; his garden in Serampore was Edenlike in its rare beauty; he naturalized there every kind of fruit and vegetable that would grow in the soil of India; he brought from all parts of the East rare tropical trees and plants. He was the founder of the Agricultural and Horticultural

Societies of India. All of this was in addition to the major activities.

He was the most illustrious benefactor that the Orient has ever known. He was India's great Liberator!

It was Carey with his colleagues who issued the first Christian periodicals. It was he, with the same cooperation, who founded the first Christian college, to which many sons of high-caste Brahmins sought entrance. Through the influence of these men, whom he trained, was due the favor shown to Christian missionary undertakings for the next half century. To William Carey's personal philanthropies there was no end. He made the mission virtually self-sustaining. From the day of his appointment to the year 1827, he and his fellow workers did not receive more than £600 from the Society's funds. They earned their own living; they died poor men; and they contributed £68,000 to Baptist missionary work in India, from the profits of their publication work and their teaching activities.

The missionary company grew steadily in numbers, in spite of government enmity. By 1812 more than five hundred natives had been baptized in Serampore and its vicinity. The number of inquirers and earnest students of the Scriptures had multiplied by leaps and bounds. The Bible was being printed and circulated in fifteen different languages. The eight mission presses were working day and night; it was almost impossible to supply the demand for New Testaments and religious literature. Various outstations had been established and were

prospering. A Baptist church in Batavia had grown to twenty members. Missions had been established in Java, Ceylon, and elsewhere.

Was there ever such an amazing community as that at Serampore? The vast translation operations had brought scholarly men from afar to their gates. One of these was the son of rich Armenians of Macao, a master of Mandarin Chinese and various other languages, and China's official representative in India. Another was an Arabian-born Hebrew, equally fluent in Arabic, Hebrew, and Syrian. Besides these there were learned pundits from almost every language area in India and Afghanistan.

In one of his letters to Doctor Ryland, Carey says, quite incidentally, that the little company read, wrote, and spoke familiarly amongst themselves in Greek, Hebrew, Arabic, Syriac, Sanskrit, Persian, Bengali, Hindi, Oriya, Gujarati, Telugu, Marathi, Armenian, Portuguese, Chinese, and Burmese. This polylingual exhibition was, however, no Babel or "confusion of tongues," but rather a continual Pentecost where all men heard and declared both in their own and other tongues "the wonderful works of God."

In 1812 a heavy calamity fell upon the mission. The very large and convenient building which for years had been the home of the printing plant was destroyed by fire. The presses were saved, but everything else was swept away, including many manuscript translations. These were a total loss. Part of Carey's Bengali Dictionary, all of his Telugu Grammar, and all of the completed portion of his

Sanskrit Dictionary had disappeared. In a few brief hours the labors of years went up in flame and smoke.

Carey and his comrades were not the sort of men to lose time in lamenting. At once they began rebuilding on a larger scale. The moment the molten mass had cooled they began salvaging the metal and recasting the type. Within less than four months they were printing again in eight languages and by the end of the year they were "as rich in Oriental type as ever." These were men to whom nothing was impossible, because they wrought in the name of God.

The full cost of replacement was far more than met—and within the short space of two months after the news reached Europe—by gifts from England and America. The Serampore Mission received, through its seeming ill-fortune, a wider sympathy than it had ever known before. It surely deserved attention. In twelve years the one church in Serampore had become eleven churches. There were twenty native evangelists. The Calcutta church was growing very rapidly. Hundreds of children were in the schools. Great was the sweep and swing of the Mission's influence.

Everywhere progress was apparent, yet the persecuting tactics of the British Indian Administration were long continued and severe. Again and again its leaders commanded the absolute exclusion of missionary evangelism from their territory. Brutal antimission officials were sleepless in their watchfulness. For the six years between 1806 and 1812 no

missionary reenforcements were sent. Then when a little company ventured forth, they were prevented from landing, and all except one family were forced to seek refuge in other Eastern ports or were returned to England.

Soon after this came the immortal fight for freedom in the House of Commons. Chiefly through Andrew Fuller's efforts, and the pleas in Parliament of William Wilberforce and Marquis Wellesley, the victory was won. The charter of the East India Company was so revised, by compulsion of Parliament, that it allowed free entry of missionaries into all of the Company possessions.

Quickly a goodly group of volunteers sailed for the Orient. These young people were heartily welcomed and entered upon their work. But they had been influenced against the " autocracy of the triumvirate " by foes of the mission, and they soon became a company in revolt. The history of the next few years is not pleasant reading. The younger men disliked the community system; they were impatient of control and even of counsel; and being salaried persons they opposed the idea of transferring their income to the Mission Treasury.

These things wounded William Carey and his colleagues to the depths of their souls. After a time a new Baptist Society was formed in London, with men appointed as trustees who knew nothing of Indian affairs. The Serampore pioneers indulged in no recriminations, but went on their faithful way. They resented the accusation, freely made in England, that they had become rich as a result of their

undertakings; and they replied definitely to these ridiculous charges, so false in every particular. Otherwise they waged no war against their brethren. Difficulties were finally adjusted, and peace brought to pass, in the year 1830.

The College at Serampore aptly illustrated Carey's love of freedom. Though an orthodox Christian of the most evangelical type he had not a single strain of bigotry or narrowness in his whole composition. His entire career was a campaign for the enfranchisement of fettered souls. In the College the doors were set wide open to all comers who should be qualified to enter. Sons of Brahmins, sons of Mohammedans, sons of the highest caste or of no caste, were cordially greeted and carefully trained. No barriers of religion or creed were permitted.

It was one of William Carey's first principles that "it is on native evangelists that the weight of the great work must ultimately rest." To this dictum a hundred years of Protestant Missions voices its loud Amen. It was also his contention that evangelists and preachers throughout India must be carefully trained. Education with him was not a luxury nor an adornment, but an elemental necessity of all soundly constructive work. More than this. The sons of India must become the Christian scholars and the leaders of India's Christian church. They must be taught the philosophy, literature, and religion of India, they must be saturated with the spirit of the Christian Scriptures, and they must be learned in the Western sciences as well.

So the basic idea in the founding of the Serampore

College was the education of native Christian leaders. The secondary yet very important aim was the thorough training of Hindu and Moslem youth in the atmosphere of Christian scholarship. That this plan was eminently wise is shown by the fact that many of the graduates of the College, though never professing Christianity, became strong friends and loyal advocates of Christian missions through more than half a century. They never forgot the self-denying labors of Carey and his comrades in their behalf.

Fierce opposition to the College scheme developed in England. Unenlightened Baptists talked volubly against the idea of educating native preachers. Bigoted Baptists, yet more in number, stoutly antagonized the idea of educating the heathen sons of heathen Brahmins. It was a sacrilege, a waste of good English Baptist money. But precious little Baptist money had been going out to Serampore for the major Mission activities! If it had not been for one man, Andrew Fuller, hardly any would have gone, and after his death there was a very serious slump. Yet in every department of its work the College won unqualified success. It became a mighty Christian center. It was the first Christian college in all Asia. Its influence only shriveled and failed when, after many years, the counsels of narrowness prevailed, and it became a divinity school for native Christians only, while all others were excluded from its halls.

The last years of the great warrior were passed quietly. He saw two of his sons in active missionary service, and his youngest son a Christian lawyer in

high place in Calcutta, aiding in every possible way the mission cause. He saw all branches of his manysided work in full tide of successful progress. As an immediate result of his heroism in the initial enterprise, a dozen other great missionary societies, representing many Christian denominations, were established in England and America within less than twenty years after he began his sacred undertaking. He was honored far and near as the greatest master of Oriental literatures and philosophies who had ever lived, and as the greatest missionary since Paul the Apostle.

On the ninth of June, 1834, he died in peace at his home in Serampore. He had opened the gates of spiritual freedom to India's countless millions. He had given forty years of utmost devotion to India, to the redemption of humanity, and to the cause of his crucified and glorious Lord. The story of his stainless and triumphant life is one of the chief marvels of the church's history.

XIII

ADONIRAM JUDSON

Spiritual Adventurer

ADONIRAM JUDSON: 1788–1850

I. Introduction: Carey and Judson.

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(2) Judson visits England; an adventurous [voyage.
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ADONIRAM JUDSON

Spiritual Adventurer

William Carey, the Baptist, was the father and founder of English Protestant Missions in India. Adoniram Judson, the Baptist, was the father and founder of American Protestant Missions in India. William Carey was a typical Britisher; Adoniram Judson was a typical American—in personality, temperament, outlook, and reaction to events and circumstances. More than this, he was a New Englander by ancestry, birth, and training, and as well in his shrewd and rugged character.

A few facts of his boyhood and adolescence may be briefly narrated. He was the son of Adoniram Judson and his wife Abigail, and was born at Malden, Massachusetts, on August 9, 1788. At three years of age he learned to read. When he was ten, he was studying navigation, and Greek soon after. Always a great reader, he began with books of theology and Biblical exposition from his father's library; and with Ben Johnson's plays and the novels of Richardson and Fielding, which were not from his father's library. At sixteen he entered Brown University, at that time Providence College, and after three years he graduated at the head of his class and received his degree of Bachelor of Arts.

A year later he published two books, *The Elements of English Grammar* and *The Young Ladies' Arith-*

metic. In the same year, 1808, he closed the Plymouth Academy, of which he had been the organizer and teacher. In October he entered the Theological Institution at Andover, Massachusetts, being at that time neither a licensed minister nor even a church-member. He was admitted "by special favor" of the faculty. The following May after a deep religious experience he made a public profession of Christ, and joined the Third Congregational Church in Plymouth. The next month he was appointed to a tutorship in Brown University, which he declined, as he did a flattering invitation to become a colleague of Rev. Doctor Griffen in the pastorate of the largest church in Boston. In February, 1810, at the age of twenty-one, he definitely dedicated himself to foreign missionary service. To this cause the remaining forty-one years of his life were devoted, in a glorious and sacrificial consecration.

During his college course he was influenced by the sceptical tendencies which invaded the educational institutions of New England at that time, and were the outspread of French infidelity. One of his dearest friends was a brilliant and charming youth who was known as a confirmed Deist. After closing his school at Plymouth, young Judson set forth on a tour through the Northern States. One night he stopped at a country inn. In the room next to his a young man lay very ill. In the morning he was told by the landlord that the sick man had died during the night. On inquiring his name, he was shocked to learn that it was that of his former friend and fellow student. The tidings so overwhelmed

him that he abandoned his proposed journey and returned at once to his home. The incident had a profound effect in steadying and solemnizing his views of life and the hereafter. It was less than a month afterward that his changed plans led him to enter the Seminary at Andover.

It was a sermon entitled "The Star in the East," preached by Dr. Claudius Buchanan, that led him to think seriously on the matter of foreign missions. The sermon described the power and progress of Christianity in India. It produced in the young student such intense interest and excitement, that for a time he neglected his class work and indulged in constant thought and prayer upon the theme that had so vitally affected him. The hearts of other students were kindled into enthusiasm by his words, and he found that one or two of them had already been pondering the same great question.

Just then four graduates of Williams College came to Andover, Luther Rice, Gordon Hall, Samuel Mills and James Richards. These young men had formed a missionary society while in college, and had often met for consultation and prayer in the open fields; they had indeed been the originators of the famous Haystack Prayer Meeting. There they had given themselves to the work of foreign missions. In them Adoniram Judson found kindred spirits.

They resolved to achieve something definite, and as quickly as possible. There was no foreign missionary society in America, so they decided to offer themselves to the London Missionary Society, a Con-

gregational body. While awaiting a reply to their application to that Society, they conferred with their professors and others on the subject. On Monday, June 25, 1910, several professors and ministers assembled at the home of Professor Stuart to consider the case of these students. They strongly advised them to go before the State Association, which they did. The result was the formation of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions of the Congregational churches.

One of the first acts of this new Board was the appointment of Mr. Judson as a delegate to the London Society, to seek such a cooperation between the two organizations as would secure their joint support of the young volunteer missionaries. He sailed for England in January, but did not arrive at his destination until May. During the interval his ship was captured by a French privateer and he was imprisoned in Bayonne. On his way to the jail he declaimed loudly in English, describing his arrest and crying out for justice, hoping that some one who understood English would hear him.

A stranger who was passing heard his outcries and approached him as he marched between two guards. The stranger was an American from Philadelphia, and Judson explained his situation as briefly as possible. The next morning he was visited in his cell by the Good Samaritan, who flung his own ample military cloak about him. Thus partially disguised he went forth with his benefactor, who tipped the jailer liberally, and also the guard at the gate. After other rather narrow escapes he, strangely enough,

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met some of the French officers, gained their confidence, and through their courtesies was set safely on his way to England.

The London Board were willing to accept the young missionaries if they should place themselves under their sole direction, but did not deem a co-operative movement with the American Society advisable. So the youthful ambassador returned at once to the United States, and immediately thereafter he and three others were accepted by the Board of Commissioners as their missionaries in Asia, "either in the Burman Empire, or in Surat, or in Prince of Wales Island, or elsewhere." On February 5, 1812, Adoniram Judson was married to the lovely and accomplished Ann Hasseltine, and exactly two weeks later the young couple, together with Samuel and Harriet Newell, left Salem Harbor, bound for Calcutta.

The voyage occupied just four months. It was no holiday jaunt to a vacation land. The young people were hopeful and eager, but they clearly recognized the fact that perils and sufferings lay before them. Judson was always clear-headed and practical. He entertained no rosy illusions. It would almost seem that he took too gloomy a view of the future, for some time before, in writing to Mr. Hasseltine, soliciting the hand of his daughter in marriage, he proceeded in a style quite lugubrious enough to startle any normally affectionate father, as follows:

I have now to ask whether you can consent to part with your daughter, early next spring, to see her no more in this world? Whether you can consent to her departure to a

heathen land, and her subjection to the hardships and sufferings of a missionary life? Whether you can consent to her exposure to the dangers of the ocean; to the fatal influence of the southern climate of India; to every kind of want and distress; to degradation, insult, persecution, and perhaps a violent death?

The young man was decidedly frank and outrageously honest, to say the least. He certainly put the heroism of his future father-in-law to a powerful test, but he won his way, so Ann went hand-in-hand with Adoniram out into the unknown future.

On the long voyage eastward the young missionary studied his Bible diligently. Studying, thinking, praying, he made ready for his career of Christly service. He pondered carefully the Greek text of the New Testament. As his custom was throughout life he thought logically, and he thought toward definite conclusions. In this case the conclusions were soul-shaking. For he came to the assured conviction that believers only should be baptized, and that baptism by immersion was the only true baptism. These two results of the thinking of this keen-minded and clear-visioned young man brought him directly to the Baptist position.

He debated the whole matter with his wife, and she opposed him by every argument that her highly trained intellect and her feminine point of view could suggest. Finally, however, she also was compelled, by the irresistible logic of Scripture and of common sense, to the Baptist view.

But think what this involved for both of them! They were cutting themselves off from the Mis-

sionary Board under which they had enlisted, from the fellowship and financial help of that Board, from all their former friends and associates. They were allying themselves with a scattered group of independent churches, without strength at that time in America, and possessing no organized missionary society. They would land in India a pair of friendless wanderers, utterly alone in a strange world.

Yet they did not hesitate for a moment. They could not mask the truth or compromise with conscience. In full trust in the Spirit's guidance they took their stand. On their arrival in Calcutta they were warmly welcomed by William Carey and the other Serampore missionaries. They made their home temporarily in Calcutta. At once Adoniram Judson wrote a number of important letters. He wrote to Doctor Worcester, the Secretary, resigning his connection with the Congregational Board. He wrote to Doctor Baldwin, the recognized leader amongst the Baptists of Boston, announcing his change of views, and suggesting the formation of a Baptist Missionary Society. He wrote also to the Serampore group, declaring his conviction " that the immersion of a professing believer in water is the only Christian baptism."

On September 6 he and Mrs. Judson were baptized in Calcutta by Rev. William Ward. On the first of November, Luther Rice, another of the appointees of the Board of Commissioners, arrived in Calcutta. He also had been studying his Bible, and after some discussions with Mr. Judson, he announced that he had arrived at conclusions exactly

similar to those that his friend had reached. So he also was baptized. These two men became, each in his own way, the creators of foreign missionary enthusiasm and the initial organizers of foreign missionary effort amongst the Baptists of America.

Just at that time England and America were not the best of friends. In fact they were at war with each other. This fact did not accentuate the benevolence of the British East India Company. The three new-made Baptist missionaries were summoned to Government House and ordered to return to America. As no vessel was sailing for America they were ordered to go to England. At their earnest petition, however, they were allowed to sail for Mauritius. There they spent four months, ministering to the British soldiers stationed there. Then Luther Rice sailed for America to undertake his notable missionary campaign amongst the churches, while Adoniram and Ann Judson sailed to Madras, and thence to Burma, the scene of all their future labors.

They found Burma an utterly alien land, yet deeply interesting. It was an absolute monarchy ruled by a blood-thirsty despot whose throne and court were at Ava on the Irrawaddy. The chief religion of Burma was Buddhism, as in the Indian peninsula it was Brahminism. Buddhism is pessimistic, atheistic, a system of negations. Yet in spite of the tyrannies of government, the back-breaking burden of taxation, and the hopelessness of their religious system, the people of Burma were active, cheerful, kindly, independent in nature, and always

ready to look on the humorous side of any situation —an attractive and even fascinating racial group.

The Careys and their comrades in Calcutta had faced the bitter enmity of a horde of superior grafters, the British East India Company, and were driven by them to the Danish colony of Serampore. The Judsons in Rangoon found at first no opposition on the part of the officials, while the natives were simply curious and good-natured. Mrs. Judson waited upon the chief wife of the viceroy of the province and was cordially welcomed. Her husband paid his respects to the viceroy himself, and was received with complete indifference.

Their time was occupied with the intensive study of the language. There was, indeed, nothing vital that could be accomplished until they were able to converse with the people. Their teacher was a former priest, a man of great learning, and a favorite at court. They lived in the home of Felix Carey, the son of William Carey. He had been compiling a Burmese grammar and dictionary, but was immersed in political matters and was absent the most of the time, as he had been appointed to a high position in the government service.

For three full years, in spite of occasional illness and a lengthy period of trouble with his eyes which he feared might cause total blindness, Judson wrestled with the language, a difficult tongue to master. He longed for the time to come when he might go forth amongst the people and preach the living Word. As soon as he began to get a grip on the language he set himself to the task of transla-

tion. On July 13, 1816, exactly three years from the day of his arrival in Rangoon, he completed his *Grammatical Notices of the Burman Language.* It had been composed and arranged during a severe illness; but it was frequently referred to in later years by scholars as a remarkably accurate piece of work. In the same month he finished, and soon afterward sent to the printer, a tract entitled *A View of the Christian Religion,* written in Burmese. This was the first Christian publication of any sort to be issued in that language.

Printing was now possible, because the Serampore missionaries had sent as a gift a press and full fonts of Burmese type. The printer was Rev. George H. Hough, who with his wife constituted a missionary reenforcement from America. Their coming brought great joy to the lonely young couple, more lonely than ever at this time on account of the recent death of their only child. Their grief at his going had been the more poignant because the little one had brought a ray of dazzling sunshine into their dark and wretched surroundings.

Four people were now at work amongst a Burman population of thirty-five million. A small force to face so vast an undertaking. But a little group of despised Galileans had once set up the standard of Christ in the midst of the far-spreading Roman dominions, and in three centuries the Christian faith had become the religion of the empire. And the same God reigned. So the resolute little band lost no time in repining.

Their trials were at times immense. Some years

before the English Baptists had started a mission in the district of Chittagong, where the natives spoke Burmese. They had abandoned it, after some converts had been baptized. Mr. Judson decided to visit the region with the hope of gathering the Christians together, giving them instruction and bringing back one or two of them to help him in Rangoon. He expected to make the journey to Chittagong in ten days, the usual time. Unfortunately heavy winds and severe storms drove the ship out of her course, and for three months she drifted about the Bay of Bengal, finally landing at a small port, three hundred miles north of Madras.

Adoniram Judson set foot on land, almost starved, feeble and faint from the ills of close confinement and the filth of the ship. He had been eating moldy rice for weeks, and nothing else. There had been such a dearth of water that it was doled out in minute quantities, and he had been frantic with thirst for days together. Much of the time he was unable to leave his rude berth. He had taken baggage for a ten-days' trip, and he had been on the sea for ninety days. There had been not a single congenial spirit to share his awful loneliness. His constitution, never strong, had almost broken completely under the cruel strain.

As the ship was not to return to Rangoon for several months, and no other could be found, Judson was obliged to go by land to Madras. After a long detention there, during which he suffered intensely from pains in his head and eyes, and was utterly unable to study, he procured passage back to his

starting-point. It was five months wholly wasted; and time was very precious to those heroic missionaries.

Meanwhile Mrs. Judson, hearing nothing from her husband, had been the victim of heart-rending anxiety. The Government had begun to take notice of the little group of foreigners and now threatened them in ominous fashion. The scourge of Asiatic cholera raged in Rangoon. Rumors of impending war between England and Burma filled the air. All British ships save one had left the port. The Houghs decided to sail by this one remaining vessel while escape was still possible. After much entreaty they persuaded Mrs. Judson to go on board. But her noble and courageous nature triumphed. She insisted on being put ashore, and alone, utterly alone, she returned to the mission premises. Her husband might return, and if he did he must find her at her post, ready to receive him. Such valiancy is sublime!

The reunion of these two loving hearts cannot be described in words. After Mr. Judson's return the prospect brightened. The new viceroy received the missionaries courteously. Besides this four new recruits from America arrived. The repeated and often pathetic appeals to the Home Board for reenforcements had at last been answered. The new chapel had just been finished, and now three branches of service were carried forward, the school, public worship, and work for women.

The front part of the chapel was open to the street, and without doors, windows, or partitions.

Here Mr. Judson would sit all day long, studying and translating, or simply calling to the passers-by, repeating passages of Scripture, and inviting the people to come and talk with him. It proved to be a wayside ministry of great value. This chapel, or zayat, was "the first Christian meeting-house in a land of atheists."

June 27, 1819, was a memorable day, for on that day, six years after his first arrival in Rangoon, Adoniram Judson baptized the first Burman convert, Moung Nau. It was a long time to wait. Yet William Carey was in India for seven years before the first Indian convert was baptized, and it was twenty years after Robert Morrison sailed for China before the first Chinese convert accepted Christ. Foundations must be laid. Patience and faith must often work long together before the divine outpourings begin.

For years Adoniram and Ann Judson had celebrated together, with all reverence, the communion of the Lord's Supper, once each month. But on the evening of that June day on which the baptism of Moung Nau took place, the new convert sat at the Lord's table with the two missionaries, and the three partook of the memorial meal. Soon afterward two other Burmans were baptized, and after a few months the little church had increased to a membership of ten.

The sky now grew dark with clouds. Again the menace of probable persecution imperiled the work of the mission. Three men had already renounced the religion of their country. It was freely rumored

that the new emperor intended to slay all natives who swore fealty to any foreign faith. Since he, "the lord of life and death," was a professed Buddhist, he would not allow any of his subjects to follow a religion different from his own. That would mean treachery and would be punished by torture and execution. But if the "Mighty One" could be persuaded to look with favor upon the emissaries of a new religious cult it would open many doors now closed and afford a great chance for aggressive work. So Judson determined to face the king and force the issue.

Two other families of missionaries had arrived, the Wheelocks and the Colmans. Mr. Wheelock soon became ill. He and his wife sailed for Calcutta, but he was brought down with fever and in a wild delirium cast himself into the sea.

In obedience to their determination to visit Ava the two men of the mission bought a boat six feet wide and forty feet long, hired fifteen men as rowers and helpers, and made the journey up-river, a distance of 350 miles, in thirty-five days. The second day after their arrival, through the kindly intercession of the former viceroy of Rangoon, they were permitted to "go up to the golden feet and lift up their eyes to the golden face," which means, of course, that they made their petition to the king.

It was treated with contemptuous indifference by the proud monarch, who spurned the gift of a Bible, in five volumes, covered with gold leaf, which they had sought to present to him; and turned from them to view a parade that was being staged for his

glorification in the open court beneath the palace. So their mission ended. Its leader, who had ardently hoped for success, wrote that "our case could not be more desperate." The two men were depressed and disheartened, and their return journey was sad indeed, and wearying to both mind and body. Only one gleam of encouragement appeared; they had not been told that they would be persecuted, or even that their native converts would be tortured. In this uncertain and negative conclusion they sought to find comfort.

A year or so later, in August, 1821, the sweet lady of the mission was brought low. It was decided that she must go to America for eminent medical attention. It meant a separation of two years. With heavy hearts the husband and wife, who had toiled with sacrificial energy and in the midst of ceaseless troubles, were obliged to bid each other good-by. Their grief was unspeakably distressing, but what else could be done? The husband could not desert his post; for the wife to remain meant certain death. The woman went forth to seek health for future toil; the man "stayed by the stuff"; the oceans rolled between them.

For four months Adoniram Judson worked with his customary ardor, but all alone. He complained that his wife's going had almost robbed him of his religion; he could only find relief in terrific labors. In December Dr. Jonathan Price, a medical missionary and one of the very first of American medical missionaries to any part of the Orient, arrived in Rangoon, and soon after Mr. and Mrs. Hough came

back from Serampore. Doctor Price was a physician of unusual talent, and his skilful care and cure of disease soon reached the ear of the emperor, who summoned him to Ava. Judson accompanied him as interpreter, for he had acquired, through characteristic perseverance, a perfect knowledge and command of the Burmese tongue.

They stayed in Ava for four months. At the conclusion of that period, Judson bought a piece of land, built a small house, and returned to Rangoon, intending to make Ava the permanent center of Baptist missionary labor in Burma. This implies that he had won the favor of the king. He had done so, and had come into close personal relations with several members of the royal family and high officers of state.

The king was also greatly interested in Doctor Price. At first the two missionaries appeared before him each day, and he asked all sorts of searching questions regarding the physician's medical skill and knowledge of certain diseases. The answers pleased him. Then he would wander off into the discussion of other matters, geographical, astronomical, theological, and was as deeply impressed by Judson's learning as by Price's skill. Altogether the two foreigners came to be prime favorites at court.

While waiting the ten months that intervened between his return to Rangoon and Mrs. Judson's arrival from America, he employed himself in strenuous work at the mission. More than this, he completed his translation of the entire New Testament into Burmese, a noteworthy triumph. In a

full century of time no other translation has replaced this. In its purity, accuracy, and beauty it stands as an imperishable monument, at once to his literary ability and to his exact knowledge of the Burmese language.

Immediately after the reunion of Mr. and Mrs. Judson they set out for their new home at the capital city of the empire, full of high hopes for a permanent and expanding work for God in that place. But, alas, the cross rather than the crown awaited them.

The church at Rangoon now numbered eighteen members, all of them real Christians, not "rice Christians," vigorous, loyal, and alert. The work was under the care of Mr. and Mrs. Hough, and two recent accessions to the group, Mr. and Mrs. Wade. Everything looked rose-colored. The Judsons had been invited by the king himself to make their home in Ava, near to the royal palace. They were greeted graciously by many persons of rank and state; Doctor Price's genius had already won him high honors; the king had granted a plot of land on which to erect a mission building.

Almost at once, however, the air was filled with strange forebodings. All the members of the king's privy council had been dismissed. The new council was composed of men of a different type; they did not know the missionaries and were said to be hostile to their cause. Also they were apparently influencing the king against them. However, Mr. Judson began public preaching in Doctor Price's house, and the building of the Mission House went forward.

Even more serious happenings were on the wing. Three months after their arrival war between Burma and Britain was declared. The *casus belli* was the ownership of Chittagong. A month later, Mr. Judson and Doctor Price, together with one other American resident in the city, three Englishmen and one Greek, were arrested, and cast into the loathsome death-prison at Ava. They were chained for nine months in three pairs of heavy iron fetters, and for two months with five pairs. Judson bore the marks of these fetters to the day of his death. He might well say with Paul, "I bear about in my body the marks of the Lord Jesus," for in the cause of Jesus he suffered those awful cruelties.

After eleven months of torturing experience the prisoners were taken from Ava to the country prison at Oung-pen-la, ten miles away. Their treatment on the way was so harsh that the Greek died from exhaustion. For the six months following they were confined under one pair of fetters and in imminent danger of death by execution. There ensued two months of partial imprisonment under close guard, and two months of restraint in Ava under strict surveillance of the north governor of the palace. The total was one year and nine months.

Such is the brief record in cold type. The realities, the personal experiences, were excruciating in their pain and horror. In one room, without ventilation save through some chinks between the boards, nearly a hundred people of both sexes were crowded together. Some of these prisoners were the vilest criminals of the Burman capital, filthy in mind and

blasphemous in speech. The direct rays of the blazing tropic sun beat down upon the prison. The prisoners, according to a description given by Doctor Price, were set "in long rows made fast in the stocks, some strung on long poles, some fettered."

The victims were nearly naked, most of them were chained with fetters, and some had one or both feet in the stocks besides. The stench was absolutely indescribable. The prison had not been washed since it was built, nor was it washed once during the next eleven months. "Putrid remains of cast-away animal and vegetable stuff and other nameless abominations strewed the floor. To this were added the exudations from the bodies of a crowd of never-washed victims, encouraged by the thermometer at 100 degrees; in a den almost without ventilation." The place teemed with creeping vermin.

At night a bamboo pole was passed between the legs of each individual, and when it had threaded seven of them, a man at each end hoisted it up by the blocks, which allowed the shoulders of each man to rest on the ground, while his feet depended from the iron rings of the leg-fetters. Thus were the gentle-natured Judson and his companions treated. After ten years of endurance, without respite or furlough, in a tropical climate, after repeated attacks of fever and ague, the son of New England's invigorating air and exhilarating freedom of movement, was obliged to undergo these incredible cruelties.

It was said of him that he had a predilection for neatness that amounted to a passion. His innate refinement was always easily recognized. He was

a clean and decent gentleman as well as a pure and consecrated Christian. Can we remotely imagine the effect upon such a man of the scenes in the midst of which he was forced to live his life during many agonizing months of horror? Besides all this, rumors of impending tortures of a frightful character were constantly being repeated by the jailers. A huge half-starved lioness occupied a cage close beside the room in which they were pent, and roared her miseries through the lingering hours.

What was the reason for all this? Why were these ministers of help and healing treated in this savage manner? Their arrest was due to a suspicion that they were secret spies of the British Government. Oriental justice does not consider or reason; it suspects and then stabs. There is no chance for protest or appeal.

After a few days Mrs. Judson was left free. Her history for the months that followed is a tale of quiet heroism impossible to duplicate anywhere. She lived for the man in chains, her husband. By gifts, petitions, entreaties, she sought in every way the amelioration of his desperate anguish. Two miles from her home to the prison, and two miles returning, she walked day after day, for the possible privilege of looking at him and exchanging a few loving words for a few brief moments. For a period of seven months she visited some officer of government or some member of the royal family almost every single day. These visits little by little won friends for her, and in this way she obtained better food for the imprisoned missionaries, and a trifling

alleviation of their hardships. She gave her whole being to the one end, and she gained the confidence of many persons of high rank. "She did what she could." Sacrificial devotion has never reached a diviner level.

In January, 1825, a daughter was born, and Mrs. Judson was obliged to discontinue her visits to the prison and to the officials for a few weeks. This interruption caused increased severities to be practised upon the hapless prisoners. The wife followed her husband to Oung-pen-la, and found a wretched place near the prison in which she could exist under most trying circumstances. She was smitten with a terrible disease, almost always fatal to foreigners, and her husband lay ill of fever in the jail. Under these handicaps, their lives were saved by the faithful Bengalese cook, who cared for the wife and carried food to the husband.

When the war was over and British and Burmese had adjusted their disputes, Mr. and Mrs. Judson came from Ava back to Rangoon. They found the mission destroyed and the members scattered. Soon they were joined by George Dana Boardman and his wife, while Mr. and Mrs. Hough returned from Calcutta, whither they had fled when in hourly danger of death.

The land along the sea-coast had become British territory. Judson and the British Civil Commissioner made a journey of inspection and decided upon a site for the seat of government, and headquarters for the army. This place they named Amherst, in honor of the Governor-general of India; and in this

new city the Judsons made their home. But how brief was their enjoyment of that home! Appointed as a member of an embassy to arrange a commercial treaty between England and Burma, Mr. Judson went again to Ava. He had high hopes of being able to secure a clause in the treaty granting religious freedom throughout Burma. A few days after reaching Ava he was stunned by receiving from Amherst the news that Mrs. Judson was dead. Shortly afterward the child was taken.

His wife was dead. His two children were dead. By reason of war confusions the mission to which he had given ten years, the whole of his young manhood, was swept away. He had fought his way through trials innumerable, he had endured the unendurable, he had passed through the furnace of fierce affliction. Now it seemed as though God were writing "Finis" upon a life of failure.

By no means was this true. He had learned the Burman character, with its strength and weakness. He knew the people now as no other person on earth knew them. He had completely mastered the Burman language; he could speak it fluently and eloquently; he understood it and could speak it as could no other foreigner. He had translated the New Testament, and this, together with brochures, tracts, and other products of his pen, was being widely circulated. Therein he had done work that would bless his fellow men throughout the generations.

Nor did he lose his faith. He took a fresh grip upon himself, reenforced his soul with a new and

nearer vision of God, shouldered the cross of Christ with replenished energy, and pointed his course forward. A new turn in the tide of Burman missionary endeavors now took place. The Commander of the British forces declined to accept Amherst as headquarters for the army and chose the little village of Moulmein in its stead. It was a strategic location militarily. Why not also strategic spiritually? As if by magic the town grew rapidly to a population of 20,000.

Adoniram Judson went up from Amherst to this new center of action. The Boardmans preceded him by a few weeks. The Wades went up from Rangoon, taking all of the native Christians and some of the school children. For the remainder of his life Moulmein was Judson's home and the headquarters of the mission. Soon after his settlement there he wrote to the Board at Boston, relinquishing to it all of his private property. It was not much, but what there was had been carefully invested by a friend in New England, and the entire sum, with accrued interest, amounted to $6,000. Also he turned over to the mission $2,600 that he had received for services to the British Government in Burma. Also he voluntarily reduced his small salary by 25 per cent. He was a saving, economical Yankee, but he loved Jesus Christ and the souls of men, and he made these sacrifices for the gospel's sake. Would that more Baptists in the homeland had had the same spirit; for the mission officials in Boston were lethargic, the churches were penurious, and missionary reenforcements were few and far between.

The ground for the Moulmein mission was given by General Sir Archibald Campbell, the conqueror of Burma, and for long the warm personal friend of the Judsons. The country about was still jungle, and they were exposed to tigers from the landward side and to robbers from seaward. A tide of Burman immigration was steadily flowing into this metropolis of free British territory from the despotic hinterland. There were four stations, the mission-house, the Judson zayat in the midst of the busy town, the Wade zayat south of the mission property, and the reading zayat, where hour by hour, day after day, Moung Ing and Moung Shwa-ba read the Scriptures in loud clear tones to the passers-by. At each of the stations public worship was held, and personal work with inquirers was carried forward.

Schools for girls and boys were established and prospered. Converts multiplied. Mr. Judson was the soul and strength of this whole advance movement. The flames spread. The church at Rangoon was reorganized and put under the direction of a native pastor. Moung Ing, a former rough sailor, who had accompanied the Judsons through many of their afflictions, was ordained as pastor of the little group at Amherst. The Boardmans soon went to establish a work amongst the Karens of Tavoy.

At the end of 1831 the Burman mission reported that two hundred and seventeen persons had been baptized during the year. Many of these were Karens, an untamed and indolent people, largely forest-dwellers, the remnants of an aboriginal race.

Mr. Boardman, until his death early in 1831, wrought well amongst them. Throughout the years the Burman Baptist Mission has done a marvelous work in civilizing and Christianizing these nomad folk. Mr. Judson said, "The great Invisible is in these Karen wilds." He made several lengthy tours amongst the hills and desert reaches where they lived, with notable results.

1834 was a year of significant events for Adoniram Judson. In January he completed his translation of the entire Bible into Burmese. This task he had accomplished in addition to all of his other enormous labors. On his knees before God, holding the last leaf in his hand, he thanked his Heavenly Father for His guidance and implored Him to "make His own inspired Word, now complete in the Burman tongue, the grand instrument of filling all Burma with songs of praise to our great God and Saviour, Jesus Christ."

In April his six years of loneliness were ended by his marriage with Mrs. Boardman, who during her widowhood had taught and wrought with unremitting zeal amongst the Karens of Tavoy. Of this union eight children were born in the course of the next eleven years. The third important event of the year 1834 was the arrival in December of the largest contingent of American Baptist missionaries that had ever journeyed to any Oriental shore. Mr. Judson, who had recently baptized his hundredth Karen convert, and just afterward his hundredth Burman convert, rejoiced with joy unspeakable at this accession to the ranks of the rapidly growing

Mission, which now numbered nearly a thousand converted Christians.

The prodigious labors of many years were having their fine fruitage. The Mission had entered upon a career of productive power. Its influence extended widely in all directions. It is impossible to describe Adoniram Judson's indefatigable labors, as preacher, organizer, teacher, personal worker, and translator. He was recognized as the foremost missionary leader of any Protestant faith in the entire Orient.

Constantly the Boston Board had been urging upon him the preparation of a Burmese dictionary. He had always replied that the spiritual needs of the people demanded him and his energies; how could he turn aside to compile a dictionary? At last, however, with many new recruits arriving to man the Mission, he yielded to the importunate appeals of his brethren. He began his new task in 1843. He finished the English into Burmese portion and part of the Burmese into English portion; after his death the work was completed by Mr. Stevens.

Since his arrival in Burma the devoted missionary had sturdily refused to return to America on furlough, though the Board and his many friends had greatly desired his presence. The illness of his wife decided him to undertake the journey, so in April, 1845, after thirty-three years absence, he and Mrs. Judson left Moulmein for the homeland. After they had rounded the Cape of Good Hope, the captain entered the harbor of St. Helena. While the vessel lay at anchor there, Mrs. Judson was released from her suffering, and in that lonely isle she was buried.

Her bereaved husband, with their three elder children, continued the voyage, arriving at Boston on the fifteenth of October.

Mr. Judson himself was in exceedingly precarious health, and a throat affection made it impossible for him to speak above a whisper. Multitudes of Christian people were waiting to greet him, to hear his impassioned messages, and to lionize the famous soldier of the Cross. Many were keenly disappointed when, in place of a robust leader of commanding presence, they looked upon a slight, frail man, who shrank from publicity, and whose voice could not be heard in any public assembly.

Even when the power of speech had partially returned he declined to relate his own thrilling experiences, but insisted upon telling in simple fashion the sweet message of redemption. The American newspapers detailed his every movement and immense audiences greeted his every appearance on the platform or in the pulpit. At the Triennial Convention of Baptists in New York City, Dr. Francis Wayland, its President, welcomed him in the name of the Baptists of America, saying in the course of a lengthy and noble tribute:

> Almost all the Christian literature in the Burman language has proceeded from your pen; your own hand has given to the nation the oracles of God, and opened to the millions now living, and to those who shall come after them, the door of everlasting life. . . From prison and from chains God delivered you, and made your assistance of special importance in negotiating a treaty of peace between two nations, one of whom had driven you from her shores and the other had inflicted upon you every cruelty but death.

The missionary landed at Moulmein in the late autumn of 1846, after an absence of a year and a half. He was accompanied by his third wife, whom he had married just before leaving America. She had been Miss Emily Chubbuck, and although only twenty-nine years of age, had become famous throughout America as a writer of poetry and fiction. This marriage excited much unfavorable criticism, but Judson was quite unaffected by it. In all things and always he had acted in that free and independent spirit which is a heritage of Baptists.

He found the Mission in a healthy condition and all activities moving forward apace. The next four years, until his death, were occupied with abounding labors. Early in 1850 his health failed completely. The physicians prescribed a long sea-voyage. He took passage from Moulmein on a French bark on the fifth of April. On the twelfth he died on shipboard, and was buried at sea the same day.

Adoniram Judson was an exact scholar, a born administrator, a kindly gentleman, a conversationalist of rare charm, a Christian of the most exalted type. But who would call him a fighter? He was diffident, not challenging, in his relations with others. He loved peace and abhorred all wranglings and factional strife. He was always a healer of wounds, a bringer together of persons and parties.

Nevertheless he was forever and ever a dauntless warrior of the truth. To compromise with error or with wrong was to him unthinkable, impossible. By virtue of his immense strength of will he conquered all difficulties. He laid the foundations of what is

now the largest Protestant mission field in the whole world.

He labored and suffered for six years for his first convert, Moung Nau. But Moung Nau was the pioneer in a glorious procession, which numbered at the time of Judson's death more than seven thousand living converts, besides hundreds who had died rejoicing in Christ. He had seen the church with one member grow to sixty-three churches, under the oversight of a hundred and sixty-three missionaries, native pastors, and assistants. He had translated the whole Bible into Burmese, and had written and published innumerable tracts and sermons. He had almost completed the compilation of the Burmese dictionary.

No wonder that, many years after his death, Doctor Jessup, the eminent Presbyterian missionary, should exclaim, in presence of a great assembly: "When I arrive in heaven, the first person whose hand I desire to clasp, after that of the apostle Paul, will be that of Adoniram Judson."

XIV

LUTHER RICE

Enthusiast

LUTHER RICE, 1783–1836

I. The Friendship of Judson and Rice:
   1. As students and voyagers.
   2. As kindred souls.
   3. Contrasts in nature and outlook.

II. Luther Rice the Returned Missionary:
   1. A twofold duty:
      (1) To Congregational Board.
      (2) To Baptist people; the Boston Conference.
   2. The Baptists of 1790.
   3. Rice begins his campaign.
   4. Formation of Triennial Convention.

III. The Herald of Missions and Education:
   1. Vast journeyings.
   2. Work of organization.
   3. Strong opposition by reactionaries.
   4. Luther Rice brings results:
      (1) His zest for schools; new colleges arise.
      (2) His numberless human contacts.
      (3) Founds a college at Washington.
   5. Columbian College:
      (1) Doctor Staughton moves his school to Washington.
      (2) Early growth.
      (3) Disasters.
      (4) Rice's fine influence over students.
      (5) Rice accused and exonerated.

IV. A Man Faithful Unto Death:
   1. American Tract Society.
   2. Further labors for the College.
   3. Evangelism and colportage work.
   4. The Virginia Convention; and life ends.
   5. A hero who "put life in the loom."

LUTHER RICE

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There are few relations of our human life so beautiful as that of a deep and abiding friendship. Rare it is in its loveliness, enriching to character, and partaking of the nature of the divine. Such a friendship existed between Adoniram Judson and Luther Rice.

It began at Andover. Judson had come from his teaching experiences, and Rice from his studies at Williams College, where he had just graduated. Judson was rejoicing in his new-found faith in Christ. Rice's soul was saturated with the sacred influences of the " Haystack Prayer-meeting " where he and several of his fellow students had given themselves to service for God in far-away lands. At once the two young men understood and loved each other.

They were ordained in the same church in Salem and on the same day, February 6, 1812. Thirteen days later Judson and his young wife embarked at Salem for the Orient. The next day Rice set sail from Philadelphia. Rice had intended to accompany Judson; but as there was no lady passenger except Mrs. Judson, he made way for Mr. and Mrs. Newell, and himself took ship from Philadelphia.

The following extracts from Mr. Judson's autobiographical record are of interest:

1812, February 19. Embarked at Salem with Mr. and Mrs. Newell on the brig "Caravan," Captain Heart, bound to Calcutta. June 17, arrived in Calcutta. August 8, Messrs. Nott, Hall, and Rice, with Mrs. Nott, arrived in Calcutta in the ship "Harmony." September 1, announced to the Secretary of the A. B. C. F. M., N. Y., change of sentiment on the subject of baptism. Sept. 6, was baptized in Calcutta, with Mrs. J., by the Rev. Mr. Ward. Nov. 1, Mr. Rice, on a similar change of sentiment, received baptism. Nov. 30, fled from the arrest of the East India Company's government, and embarked privately with Mrs. J. and Mr. Rice, on the ship Belle Creole, bound to Port Louis, Isle of France. 1813, Jan. 17, arrived in Port Louis. March 15, Mr. Rice took passage for America.

Those brief memoranda give the outline of a personal fellowship which ended all too soon, although the warm and affectionate friendship continued throughout life. It was necessary that the Baptists of America should be aroused to an interest in foreign missions, so Mr. Rice undertook that gigantic task. He sailed for America, never to see his friend on earth again. About seven weeks later Mr. and Mrs. Judson took ship for Madras, going thence to Rangoon to begin the work of Baptist foreign missions in Burma.

Judson and Rice were kindred souls. Both came of old New England stock. Judson was born at Malden, Massachusetts, in 1788; Rice at Northboro, Massachusetts, in 1783. Both had college and seminary training. Both were youthful, ardent, and possessed of a mighty purpose. Both had elements of unusual personal power. Both had dedicated themselves to life service in the regions beyond. Both, through a study of the Word of God, became Bap-

tists, and remained ever constant to that faith. But as we follow the trail of their toils and victories through the years, we realize the differences that distinguished them.

God chooses variant instruments for the achievement of his will. Luther Rice was large-framed, impressive in presence, impatient of restraint. Adoniram Judson was delicately formed, slight in stature, modestly reserved. Rice was eloquent and magnetic; Judson was quiet and dignified. Rice was impetuous, Judson was judicial. One was a raging torrent, the other a deep-flowing river. One was temperamental, the other steady. One was careless of detail, the other was a master of methods. Rice won men by his enthusiasm, Judson by his everlasting persistence. Both were men of dauntless convictions. A person never forgot an impassioned address by Luther Rice; he cherished forever the memory of a conversation with Adoniram Judson. One labored in the changeless East, the other in the ever-changing West; both wrought to build the Kingdom of our Lord on earth. One was a generous and impulsive Barnabas, the other a princely Paul. Nor did ever a cloud obscure for a moment the sunshine of their lifelong affection for each other.

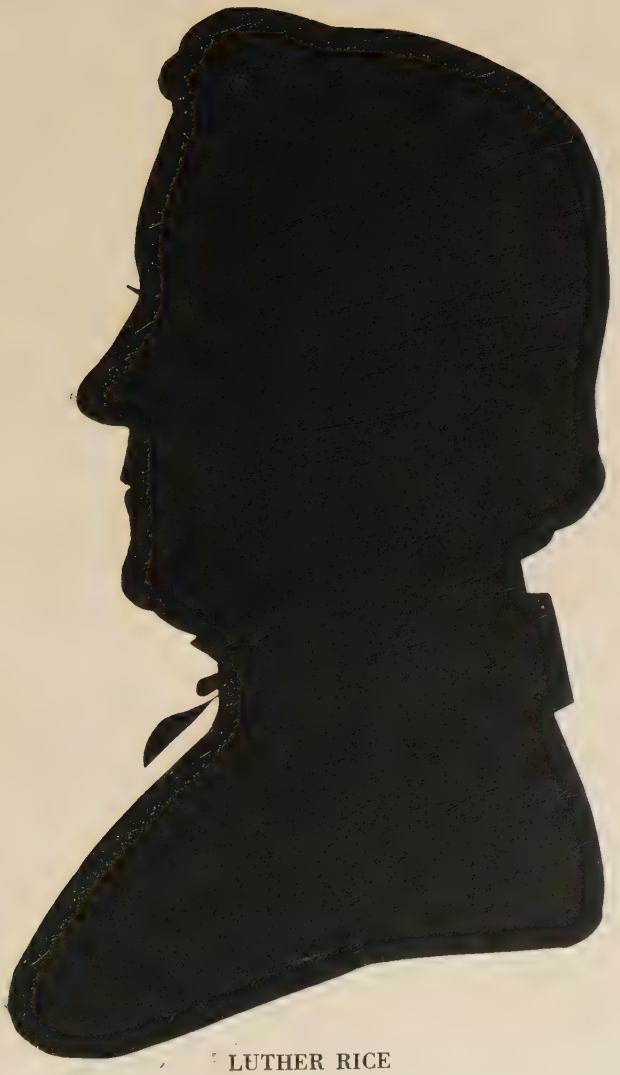
When Luther Rice arrived in New York on September 7, 1813, he had two matters of importance to transact. The first of these took him to Boston. Serious explanations were due to the Congregational Board. These he presented, indicating the change of denominational relations which had caused the

loss of three promising missionaries to the organization that had sent them to the East. It was a trying ordeal. The members of the Board strongly resented the action that had been taken and were prompt in delivering their ultimatum. They declared that the Judsons and Rice, by their extraordinary conduct in daring to become Baptists, had automatically severed their connection with the Board and would henceforth receive neither support nor sympathy from that source. The session was a frigid one, and Mr. Rice was very glad when it was ended.

Having settled this matter he turned to the onerous task of approaching the Baptist people. Would they give their sympathy and support? They would and they did.

Mr. Rice met the Board of the Boston Baptist Missionary Society. This organization had been carrying forward an excellent service in the interests of the Kingdom for some years, sending missionaries to desolate sections of Maine, to the wilds of Northern New York, and even into more dangerous and distant sections of the "Far West," beyond the confines of New York State. Through Doctor Baldwin it had learned of conditions in India and had sent contributions through the English Baptist treasury to Serampore and Calcutta.

There were also small missionary societies in Haverhill and Salem, and these sent delegates to meet with their brethren, and to interview the man from India. The Boston meeting, strangely moved by the earnest appeal of this convert to their views,



LUTHER RICE

Enthusiast

made four noteworthy decisions: They agreed to assume the full support of Mr. and Mrs. Judson. They would send a message to the Baptist Christians of the United States, imploring their cooperation in a great forward movement in missions. They definitely adopted Luther Rice as their agent, and the exponent of the new movement. They instituted a campaign of enlightenment, directing their new agent to travel as their representative in the Middle and Southern States, and authorizing him to take offerings for the cause, to establish societies that should cooperate with theirs, and to lay plans looking to the energizing of the churches and the unifying of all the Baptist groups in one strong central organization for missionary purposes.

Thus the Boston Conference proved to be an occasion of arresting significance. It was the real beginning of a bright and glorious day. In 1790 the Baptists of the United States numbered 170,000. At the time of this conference they numbered approximately 230,000. Today the membership of the Baptist churches is nearly nine million. It is not too much to say that the spiritual revolution, educational, missionary, and inspirational, that grew out of Luther Rice's interview with the Massachusetts Baptist leaders, was chiefly responsible for the astounding growth of the denomination during the last hundred years.

There were difficulties in the way, of course, and Luther Rice at once set out to overcome them. A few scattered churches knew something of William Carey's work in India. The rest of the churches

knew little, and cared less, about foreign missions. In many cases they were opposed to education and especially to ministerial education. Even Sunday schools were as yet unknown. It was the dark hour just before the dawn.

Luther Rice knew very little about Baptists and their ways. This did not trouble him at all, however. He went to work with vim and valor. He soon realized that he had before him a spiritual crusade of great magnitude, but he did not flinch for one moment. His soul was enveloped in a noble passion for the salvation of the heathen. The Baptists must arouse themselves and set out to save India. In order to do this they must have a trained ministry. They must educate men who should go to the foreign field, and men who should "hold the ropes" and direct the enterprise in the homeland. In order to possess such a ministry they must found schools. In order to found schools they must come closer together, they must form some sort of federal union. Here Rice's argument reached its climax.

This course of reasoning was clear and logical. So Luther Rice set out on his mission to bring the churches into a stronger fellowship. A few Associations existed, but many of the churches and ministers were afraid that even these harmless groups would hamper the independence of the local bodies. Some of the Associations also were antimissionary and antieducational. Within eight months Rice had visited the most of the Associations and had formed twenty missionary societies. Beyond this and almost entirely through the action of his virile per-

sonality, a meeting was called for the express purpose of forming a General Association of all the churches.

This gathering was held in the city of Philadelphia on May 18, 1814. Thirty-three representative ministers and laymen were present. Nearly all of the stalwart Baptist leaders were numbered in this elect company, such men as Dr. Thomas Baldwin and Dr. Daniel Sharp of Boston, Dr. Richard Furman of South Carolina, and Dr. William Staughton of Philadelphia. The last of these names will be remembered as that of the young theological student who happened in at a meeting of sedate and able Baptist leaders in the town of Kettering, England, nearly thirty years before. At that meeting the first Protestant Missionary Society of modern times was formed. Now, in America, the youth has grown into the learned and eloquent pastor of one of the outstanding churches of the country, and it is with his ardent sympathy and cooperation that the foreign-mission work of American Baptists is founded.

Before the members of the conference separated, they had organized the "General Convention of the Baptist Denomination in the United States, for Foreign Missions." This body at once took over the support of the work in Burma, and the responsibilities incident to such action. It afterward became known as the Triennial Convention, and for eight years, and until the removal of the headquarters from Philadelphia to Boston, Doctor Staughton was its distinguished Secretary.

It was an advance movement of large proportions. In the important matter of unification of the Baptist forces of the country it was by far the most significant action that had ever been taken. Young Luther Rice was the organizing genius. His hand guided the plans and shaped the purpose of the new body. Rev. J. D. Knowles, who became the professor of rhetoric at Newton some years later, has said that "to Luther Rice we must ascribe the chief honor of devising and carrying into successful execution the plan of the convention as it was actually organized."

Then the evangelist began his notable campaign. As the accredited agent of the new society, he went forth, hardly knowing whither he went. With the Holy Spirit as guide and comforter he entered into his prodigious labors. He awakened men and women, churches and Associations, in all parts of the land. Through rain and snow, in summer's heat and winter's cold, he journeyed; along roads that were often like forest trails and almost impassable, over mountains and amid dreary wilderness wastes, he carried his stout heart, his buoyant spirit, and his compelling message of love.

From the very beginning of his enterprise he saw clearly the intimate relationship between missionary and educational ends. There must be schools for the training of ministers and missionaries in order that they might build strong churches and missions. So he organized education societies in local churches, to meet and pray for the young ministers and to aid them by money gifts in procuring the needed train-

ing. He also organized local missionary societies to pray and work for the new undertaking in Burma.

State Societies for promoting ministerial education were also formed. Chiefly because of his tireless efforts the Massachusetts Education Society was formed in 1814, the New York Society in 1817, the Society of South Carolina in 1817, and the Society of Maine in 1819.

Wherever he could get a hearing he presented himself and pleaded his cause. In country districts as well as in busy cities he urged the people to awake from their slumbers and get to work for God. He instituted Junior Female Cent Societies in order to enlist the sympathies of the little children, and Junior Education Societies to secure the alert cooperation of the young people.

He found strong opposition. There was a prejudice amongst many of the churches against an educated ministry and against the " fanatic enterprise " of missions. No such unholy spirit was found amongst the wiser denominational leaders. They said: " The pastors must control the spiritual activities of the church, the community, and the nation in the coming years. Such control demands men of the finest training. We must therefore seek out promising young men and fit them for their great task." So they eagerly welcomed Luther Rice's new evangelical message and worked shoulder to shoulder with him. So the education societies that he founded, with their aid, became the planters of trees beside the rivers of waters, the parents of a fruitful educational progeny.

But how about the ranks of the opposition? It is an interesting though not a pleasant story. Luther Rice did not win the cheers and hearty good wishes of the entire Baptist brotherhood. Far from it! Besides wide-spread indifference there was much caustic criticism and contemptuous reviling on the part of people who occupied positions of more or less importance. Active hostility manifested itself at times, proceeding chiefly from uneducated though sometimes influential ministers who were jealous of the new movement as inimical to their status and leadership. It is difficult in our day to realize the intense bitterness of their feelings.

Rev. Samuel West, who was pastor at Saybrook, Connecticut, and a man of influence in his day, writes in his *Memorandum Book* under date of December 31, 1817:

> No great Revivals of Religion in these parts this year but great exertions are made to Raise money to Educate young men for the Ministry & a principle is propagated even amongst the Baptists that a knowledge of the dead languages, arts and Sciences are necessary to qualify men to preach the gospel. but hath not god made the wisdom of this world foolishness and chosen the weak things of this world to bring to naught the things that are mighty? The 1000 years Reign of Christ and Saints is Supposed to be ushering in by Raising & Squandering large Sums of money on a tribe of Zealous Missionaries—officers—and agents—and he or she who gives the most money to aid the Holy cause it Should Seeme by the language of missionary Sermons & other publications have the best titles to heaven. That Such are honored praised and highly esteemed among men is true. but Jesus Said that which is highly esteemed among men is abomination in the sight of god.

Again in his wrathful indignation this good man writes, on April 13, 1818, that there exists "a low State of Religion Errors abound Christian graces languish and iniquity prevails Missionary Societies (Socalled) increase and Missionary and ministerial education Societies are multiplied." He goes on to condemn the societies which seek

> to arouse the energies of all Classes of Citizens from the decrepitude of age down to little boys and girls—to inlist under the Crusaders of Melennium by forwarding their Cash in great and Small Sums to Qualify melennial Preachers with old Hebrew Greek and Lattin So that they may be able to convert the Savages of America & heathen of India. . . And also to furnish the Sd learned preachers and all their coparceners from the Sapient Secretary to the Servants in waiting, with Salaries and livings. If money & monied institutions will convert the world to Christ a happy issue may confidently be expected.

Such sentiments as these were all too prevalent. Strong antagonism to the new movements of missions and education manifested itself in New York State, in Ohio, in Illinois, in the South, in every section where efforts for higher education were inaugurated. But the wheels of the car of Baptist progress had now been fairly set in motion, and neither narrow ignorance nor jealous contumacy could stay its course.

After the beginning of the missionary awakening, under Rice's contagious leadership, a new zest for education seized upon the people, and at once commenced to issue in a remarkable cultural fruitage. The Hamilton Literary and Theological Institute,

now Colgate, was organized in 1819; Waterville, now Colby College, in 1820; Columbian College in 1822; Georgetown College, Kentucky, in 1824; the Newton Theological Institution in 1825; Furman College in 1827; and Shurtleff College, as Rock Spring Seminary, in 1827. Richmond, Wake Forest, and Denison soon followed.

The figure of Luther Rice is unique. There has been no person like him in our entire denominational history. His personal power was limitless. The establishment of every one of the institutions that has just been named, was due, either directly or indirectly, to the zeal of this fiery prophet of the New Awakening. Joyously and superbly he built, and he built for eternity.

The mere record of his journeyings would fill many pages, but it would be a dry and lifeless catalogue of places visited, sermons preached, money obtained, and the memoranda of personal interviews. It would contain the names of all the cities and towns, and of most of the villages and country settlements of Eastern America. Each year he traveled from 700 to 1,000 miles, chiefly on horseback, raised thousands of dollars for missions, delivered hundreds of sermons and addresses, and perpetuated the missionary influence in the societies of various sorts that he was forever forming and galvanizing into activity.

The sympathies of Luther Rice were world-wide. He carried humanity in his bosom. Especially in the period of his most fruitful labors, between 1814 and 1820, his love for Christ and for men gave the charm

of a cosmopolitan interest to his private conferences and public messages. The salvation of America and the redemption of all mankind were the pivot of his preaching and the dynamic of his eloquence because they were the all-conquering ideals of his inmost soul.

Ministers were needed that the world might be saved. Missionaries were needed that the world might be saved. Colleges were needed that the world might be saved. Money was needed that the world might be saved. So he wrestled with God in prayer. So he shook men's souls with the strength of his devotion. So he broke down barriers and opened doors of service. So he persuaded multitudes to become "all things to all men that they might by all means save some." So he created institutions that live and thrive today.

After the years of productive activity in which he laid broad and deep foundations for future Baptist progress he became interested in one particular institution, and in one special work. He had believed for a long time that great value would accrue to the churches and their ministry if a monumental Baptist University could be established in the capital city of the nation. In pursuance of this deep-seated conviction he became the founder of the Columbian College in Washington. He succeeded in convincing the Board of the Triennial Convention, and even the Convention itself, to adopt the idea, and to make the new enterprise its own project. He secured money, property, equipment, professors, and students. From its inception he acted as general agent and treasurer.

Doctor Staughton was really the founder of the first Baptist Theological Seminary. It began about the year 1807. It was housed in his home. He himself was President and Faculty. The little group of students boarded and lodged in his residence. It was a generous and beautiful teaching ministry that he exercised in the midst of this little group. It became the nucleus of the new College. In 1814 Doctor Staughton called Rev. Irah Chase to his aid, and they broadened the Philadelphia enterprise. Then Luther Rice persuaded him to move it—or the personal and living portion of it—to Washington. So Doctor Staughton became the first President, and his dozen keen-eyed and vigorous youths became students, at Columbian.

Land had been donated in an excellent location, a serviceable building had been erected, and in January, 1822, the College threw open its doors to incoming students. During the first year or so everything prospered, but as early as the meeting of the Triennial Convention in 1823 the announcement was made that the Institution was already $30,000 in debt. At this point the trustees made the mistake that other trustees—business men of marvelous incompetency in the Lord's business—have made times without number. Carried away by their expectations of a grand rallying of the people to their aid, they took to themselves foolhardiness, and calling it faith, they began the erection of a second building, more imposing and expensive than the first had been.

The days and years that followed were disastrous.

The trustees quarreled amongst themselves. The faculty were not a peaceful family. Students took their leave. The financial condition throughout the country was woeful, and had been for more than a year. The people ceased to contribute. What could be done? In the emergency the trustees clutched at a straw to save themselves from drowning. They became politicians. Ignoring Baptist traditions in their hope of conserving a Baptist institution, they pestered Congressmen, pleaded their cause before Committees, and had their case presented in both House and Senate, asking for a loan of $50,000 from the Federal Government. Their pleas were rejected. It stands to the honor of Luther Rice that there appears no record of his approval of such measures, and he did not appear in support of them.

For ninety years the College carried on, with varying fortunes, as a Baptist School. It finally collapsed into other hands, and is now functioning as the George Washington University. It was the second oldest Baptist institution of higher learning in America. In spite of debts without and quarrels within, it did excellent work in its classrooms in the earlier days. Some of the ablest pastors and teachers of the denomination studied within its walls.

It is in the quality of these students that we trace again the influence of Luther Rice's molding influence. He gave himself to inconceivable burdens and toils in behalf of the College. Wherever money could be found he found it. Wherever there was a prospect of enlisting new friends for the enterprise he entered into persuasive labors to win them. In

seeking out possible recruits for the ministry, however, and setting their souls on fire, he was inimitable.

Just to name a few of the men who were drawn by the force of Rice's magnetic personality is to call the roll of famous Baptist leaders of a past generation. John E. Weston, founder of the *Christian Watchman,* and father of President H. G. Weston of Crozer, was one of the young men whom he brought to Washington. Another was Robert E. Pattison, who became President of Colby College, and professor in the old Chicago University and at Shurtleff College. Another was T. J. Conant, the well-known Orientalist and expositor. Another was Rufus Babcock, the eminent Baptist historian and President of Colby. Another, Noah Davis, became the founder of The American Baptist Publication Society. Another was Rollin H. Neale, for forty years pastor of the great First Baptist Church in Boston. Another was Baron Stowe, founder and editor of the *Columbian Star,* and a man of light and leading in American religious affairs. There were many others.

These were his spiritual offspring. To spur youth to noble deeds is the work of a creative genius. Long after his departure from the earth Luther Rice continued to live abundantly and to achieve victoriously in the careers of those whom he had quickened into action by the electric force of his own compelling purpose.

In the years between 1823 and 1826 he gave himself with a zeal almost ferocious. In excessive jour-

neyings, by night and by day; through multitudes of personal interviews, conferences and public addresses; and by means of an extensive correspondence, in which all the letters were written by his own hand, he sought to remove the handicaps that fettered the free life of the college. But a tide of strong opposition had set in. His best efforts resulted in sad defeat, and he became seriously ill.

At the Triennial Convention of 1824 the policy of fear prevailed, and future aid to the College was refused. Its relations with the Convention were severed, except in the matter of the nomination of certain of the Trustees. Henceforth the Convention occupied itself solely with missionary concerns. All this was a severe blow to the school's founder, and his grief was intensified by the fact that charges of maladministration of funds were brought against him.

The charges were investigated. His books were carefully audited. He was found to be blameless.

In the year 1817 Luther Rice had persuaded the Triennial Convention to adopt the plan of a central educational plant for Baptists in the city of Washington, and to adopt that institution as its child and provide for its nourishment. In the year 1824 the financial difficulties, besides misunderstandings between the members of the Faculty and the Trustees, paralyzed its progress. During the years between these dates, Luther Rice performed enormous tasks in the interest of the educational plan, while he still continued his ardent labors in behalf of the distant missionary field that he cherished in his heart.

During that period also he became the moving factor in the establishment of the American Tract Society. At the centennial of the latter organization due credit was accorded him as the directing genius in its founding. The services rendered by that Society during the last hundred years in its publication and circulation of the Word of God, and in its efficient evangelizing activities, have been colossal in character.

Although he resigned his official connection with the College as its general agent in 1826, he continued to advocate its claims, to secure students for its classrooms and to enlist new and generous friends in its support, until the end of his life. His was a noble and sacrificial spirit. He was cut to the heart by the criticism of his business management; he was humiliated by the unjust suspicions of his integrity on the part of those who had been his friends in former days. But his great soul triumphed over his natural sensitiveness. He uttered no words of bitterness against his detractors.

Perhaps he realized that he was a failure as a careful and meticulous accountant. Perhaps he came to understand that bookkeeping was not his specialty, and that confusion was too apt to sit enthroned amid his financial figurings. Perhaps his individual debts, which were usually not a few, embarrassed him. But he was conscious of absolute rectitude of motive. He gave himself and all that he had to the College and to missions. He exercised the most rigid economy in matters of personal expenditure. In spite of this he remained so poor that it was dif-

ficult for him to make both ends meet. He was generous to a fault. He was not a cold and exact machine. He was an impulsive and big-hearted saint, with such qualities of outgoing sympathy and affectionate impulse that he drew multitudes of people into fellowship with his efforts for the upbuilding of the Kingdom.

During the last years of his life he devoted a good deal of his time to evangelistic work, in connection with his pleadings for the two great causes that lay so near his heart. He loved to travel long distances, to meet people, to laugh and joke with them, to form new friendships, to visit homes where he had often been before, to sit in the midst of the family group at a cheerful fireside, and to preach to eager congregations in wayside chapels or in city pulpits. Young and old welcomed his coming with joy, for he was a rare man in conversation, he always had incidents of his journeyings to relate, and he invited confidences from others. If ever a man knew perfectly the art of entering heartily and helpfully into the varied experiences of folks in general, it was this good man. He lived for others and he loved them.

Colportage work was unknown in his day, but he did an immense amount of informal advertising of good books. Where he went he carried his Bible with him, and his soul was saturated with its teachings. He enjoyed the occasions of family worship. Being called upon to conduct the simple services within the walls of any home where he was staying, he indulged in homely and vivid expositions of Scripture, which were long remembered by those to whom

he ministered. He was forever calling attention to the excellent influence of good books, recommending the reading of those that had impressed his own mind, and inculcating in his hearers above all else a deep affection for the Word of God, as the source of supreme life-values.

His strenuous labors led to frequent illnesses which sapped his vital strength. At such times he usually rose from his bed while he was still in no fit condition to go forth, and continued his intensities of life and action as before. In June, 1836, he attended the Virginia State meetings and preached several times with his accustomed fervor. But the seeds of death were already planted in his body and during the next few weeks he failed rapidly, though he still kept "on the go." On the twenty-seventh of August he arrived at Elam in South Carolina. The next day he preached from the text, "Then Phillip opened his mouth, and began at the same Scripture, and preached unto him Jesus." The modern evangelist spoke with just such earnestness and compelling power as did Phillip the evangelist of ancient days; and his theme was the same. This was his last sermon.

He traveled on, as far as Edgefield, and there was stricken. He had no home. There was no wife to be summoned. There were no children to gather at his bedside. He lay suffering for three weeks at the house of a friend, where he died on September 25, 1836. In a quiet country church-yard at Point Pleasant, Edgefield district, he was buried; and the South Carolina State Convention erected a marble monu-

ment above his grave. His fifty-three years of life were dedicated to the cause of his Redeemer.

Luther Rice was an impetuous and whole-souled personality. He was a choice spirit, a manly man, the sort of being whose coming brings freshness and vigor, whose going leaves kindly and productive memories. He did not look like a clergyman nor talk like one; neither did he usually act like one. His unconventionality was contagious. He made himself easily at home in any assembly, great or small.

He was a large man, physically and in other ways. Tall, erect, broad-shouldered, portly, he possessed that commanding presence that goes far to impress others and win their attention. He was interested always in large concerns. He could not think in narrow terms as he could not walk in mean or sordid ways. He was apt to be careless of the niceties of dress and blissfully unconscious of changes in style and fashion—perhaps because he was a bachelor.

A poet has sung of his desire to "live in a house by the side of the road, and be a friend of man." Luther Rice never really lived in a house of any kind after he left his early boyhood home; but no truer friend of man has ever wrought in the midst of humankind. He united keen knowledge of human nature with rare kindliness of heart.

He was a preacher who at times rose to heights of eloquence. He was by no means a scholar but by all means an educator. He swung a regiment of young men into the Baptist ministry and packed them off to school and college for their preparatory discipline.

He was called to the presidency of Transylvania University, then a growing and promising institution; and later to the presidency of Georgetown College. Both of these offers he declined, but he kept at his task of molding and making men.

He was no business man, according to the ordinary rules of judgment, but he did great business for God, and he was a genuine kingdom-builder. Besides, he inspired many others, so that they became builders.

In a Spanish city, in a gallery of art, is a painting by a famous artist. It depicts the careful toil of three humble women, who are weaving a piece of wondrous tapestry. They have woven the figure of a stately king at the moment of his coronation. He is clothed in garments of exquisite beauty. The royal throne and all the glory of "pomp and circumstance" are spread out on the canvas. Above, unseen by the busy women with their skilful fingers, are three angels, ready with crowns in their hands, just waiting to set them upon the brows of the lowly workers, as a reward for their faithfulness. As they are creating beauty and glory, so glory and beauty await them at the conclusion of their task.

Children of yesterday,
Heirs of tomorrow,
What are you weaving?
Labor and Sorrow?
Look to your looms again!
Faster and faster
Fly the swift shuttles
Prepared by the Master.
Life's in the loom;
Room for it—room!"

In the weaving of the Master's seamless robe, and for his coronation, Luther Rice toiled ceaselessly, in the interest of human need, of missionary zeal, of youthful purpose, of heroic sacrifice. He put life into the loom; he gave life that the divine life might shine forth in royal splendor.

XV

JOHN MASON PECK

Pioneer

JOHN MASON PECK: 1789–1858

I. The Lord Calls a Young Man:
   1. A country youth becomes a Christian.
   2. His birth, surroundings, lack of education.
   3. Life as farmer and teacher.
   4. Moves to Big Hollow Settlement; is baptized.

II. The Lord Opens a Fruitful Field:
   1. Begins to preach; is ordained; pastor at Amenia.
   2. Meets Luther Rice, who wakes his missionary zeal.
   3. Missionary agent and advocate.
   4. He decides to go West for God—and for life.

III. The Lord Prepares:
   1. A year of study with Doctor Staughton.
   2. Triennial Convention sends Peck to Missouri.
   3. The journey; the arrival; St. Louis in 1817.

IV. The Lord Directs:
   1. The mission begins with baptisms.
   2. A school is established.
   3. Preachers oppose Peck's efforts.
   4. Peck's fine ideals—and achievements.

V. The Lord Empowers:
   1. One man's labors.
      (1) Another Association organized.
      (2) Fifty schools established.
      (3) Missions, Bible Society formed.
      (4) Churches and Sunday schools founded.
      (5) Women's societies encouraged.
   2. One man's difficulties.
      (1) Trouble in Academy. Peck starts another.
      (2) The mission closed. Peck opens it again.
      (3) Peck ordered to Fort Wayne—he refuses to go.
   3. One man's triumphs.
      (1) A vast itineration for Christ.
      (2) Constructor and organizer.
      (3) A campaign in the East.
      (4) The Rock Spring Seminary and Shurtleff College.
      (5) Creates Home Mission Society.
      (6) Recreates Publication Society.

VI. Conclusion:
   1. The scope of John Mason Peck's labors.
   2. His love for family and friends.
   3. His *Guide to Emigrants* and its effect.
   4. Independent in all things; an apostle of freedom.

JOHN MASON PECK

Pioneer

In the month of December, 1807, revival meetings were being held in the village of Litchfield, Connecticut. On the evening of the fifteenth day of that month a powerful exhortation of the evangelist aroused a rough, lanky youth of eighteen to a knowledge of his state as "a guilty sinner, deserving God's wrath." For two or three days he suffered extreme distress, and then he was brought to a firm faith in Jesus Christ. The spiritual crisis issued in a peace of mind and a dedication of life that were prophetic of his whole later career.

The boy was at that time a combination of teacher in a country school, and laborer on his father's small farm. His name was John Mason Peck, and he was born in that same village of Litchfield on October 21, 1789. He was a New Englander by long inheritance, his earliest American ancestor, Paul Peck, having landed in Massachusetts in 1634.

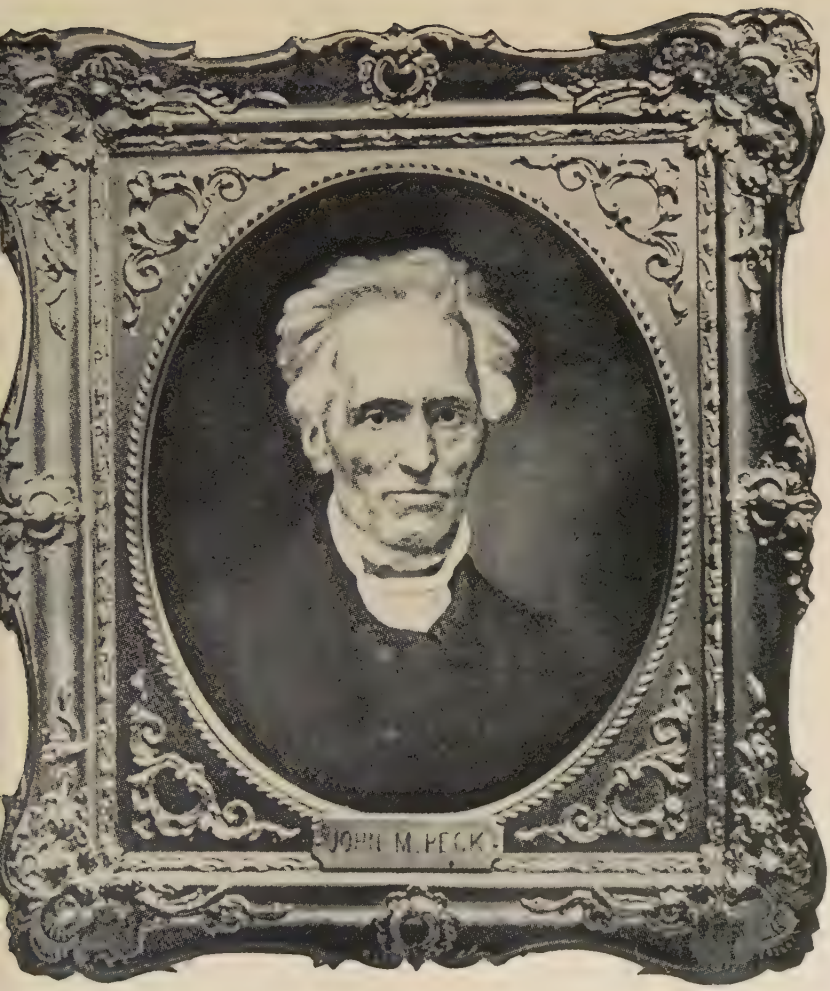
Rural school-teachers in that day were apt to be woefully ill prepared for their educational duties. Young men of very limited advantages would "keep school" during the winter months to earn a little money and pass away what was the dull time of the year on the farm. John Mason Peck was no exception. His writing was poor, his spelling worse, and his grammar painfully weak in places. However, he

was conscientious and clear-minded, and his wholesome personality may have helped his pupils quite as much as scholarly attainments would have done.

A Connecticut Yankee possesses, according to tradition, the qualities of excessive shrewdness, narrowness, and tenacity of purpose. Young Peck was well imbued with these attributes, but when he became converted his worldly shrewdness was transformed into a sort of homely spiritual wisdom that gave him power with men in his mature years. Also, the walls of narrowness were broken down and he beheld the vision of a world lost in darkness and in need of a Saviour.

Like Adoniram Judson and Luther Rice he first became a Congregationalist. For several years he continued his double work as farmer and teacher. Another joyous task was added; he became a diligent and constant student of God's Word and entered into the service of the local church with effective interest. At twenty he was married. When his first child was born the matter of infant baptism became at once an urgent question. The youthful couple faced the issue with much seriousness, praying earnestly and studying the Scriptures thoughtfully. They came to the conclusion that there was no warrant for the practise, so their child was never carried to the font.

This incident is a key to Peck's character. He was honest through and through, and always true to truth. He was already a Baptist at heart and from conviction. In 1811 he and his wife moved to Big Hollow Settlement in the State of New York.



JOHN MASON PECK

Pioneer

He was rejoiced to find that there was a Baptist church meeting regularly in a schoolhouse at New Durham, only seven miles away. The distance was a mere bagatelle to the sturdy young farmer and his wife. What were a paltry seven miles when a Baptist church lay at the end of the road?

So, carrying their baby with them, they walked to New Durham by a winding path over a mountain, on a Sunday evening in August, and received a hearty welcome. One month later they offered themselves for baptism and church-membership. Such relations were not instituted in that far-off day by loose or airy methods. There was a Puritanic strain in those hardy Baptist pioneers. They subjected the two candidates to a rigid examination on points of doctrine, which fortunately they were able to pass triumphantly.

John Mason Peck was no procrastinator. At the next meeting of the church following his baptism he stated publicly that, after four years of prayerful consideration and intense inner struggle, he had decided to preach the gospel. He asked for the sanction of the church. This was given in qualified form. The members were cautious. They voted to allow him to "exercise the gift" within the local church, so that they might test his qualifications.

He wished to meet the test at once. That was his habit. Accordingly, on the following day, which was Sunday, October 13, he preached his first sermon. His text was most significant. It was the last command of Christ: "Go ye unto all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature." The words

were the slogan of his entire future ministry. Surely the walls of narrowness have crumbled completely! Thus, at the age of twenty-two he begins, with the trumpet-call of the Divine challenge, that public ministry which lasted for more than forty-six years.

Shortly after the delivery of his first sermon he was licensed to preach, and accepted a call to the pastorate of the church in Catskill. He stayed there a year, receiving as salary the munificent sum of $61.95. He preached three times each week, and ministered in multiplex ways to the needs of the community. Just before beginning his pastorate he took a walking tour to his old home in Litchfield. He covered the 182 miles in a little more than two weeks, preaching fifteen times en route. Already the spirit of itinerant pioneer and spiritual adventurer was alive within him.

In 1813 he was ordained and became pastor at Amenia, rather an important field. Both at Catskill and at Amenia he established and conducted a school. He was always avid for double tasks. It was soon after his settlement at Amenia that a chance meeting with a great personality enlarged his vision and changed the current of his life.

Luther Rice, in his journeyings to and fro throughout the land, arrived at the Warwick Association in June, 1815. Peck heard him speak and was captivated by the spell of his glowing words. He took the visitor to his own home, and their conference resulted in a momentous decision. By its terms the young pastor was authorized to plead the

cause of foreign missions in certain Associations in central New York.

This advocacy of the larger enterprises of the Kingdom was far more congenial to his nature than the more restricted duties of the local church. Some men are born to be pastors, some to be teachers, a few to be founders of movements and leaders of great undertakings. He had been pastor and teacher; now with eager joy he sought the wider areas of productive missionary endeavor. As an illustration of the downright energy with which he always plunged into any labor that lay before him, it is interesting to record the fact that in his very first journey of three weeks he rode 440 miles on horseback, preached nineteen times, organized several auxiliary missionary societies, and talked with every one he met concerning the big affairs of the Kingdom.

Peck had seen visions and dreamed dreams prior to this time. Just two years before he met Luther Rice he had set down in his diary his conception of the overwhelming importance of foreign missionary work. He added a prophetic utterance: "Oh, how I wish I was so circumstanced in life that I might be able to bear the gospel into some distant pagan lands! where it never yet has shone. A large part of the American continent is also involved in darkness. Yes, under the immediate government of the United States there is an abundant field for missionary labor. How I should rejoice if Providence would open a door for my usefulness and labors in this way!"

Now notice how events shaped themselves toward the future crusade of righteousness in the West, and how the man welcomed the moulding process. The text of his first sermon had been intensely missionary in character. His general reading concerned itself chiefly with missions. His meditations upon missionary subjects led him to ponder especially the need of missions in the rapidly growing West. His meeting with Luther Rice had an immediate outcome missionward. His missionary journeys amongst the Associations brought him to a high resolve; he would dedicate his life to the cause which he had thus been advocating.

After campaigning for a few months he resigned his pastorate at Amenia. At the same time he wrote to Mr. Rice, asking the following crucial questions: "Is it contemplated to form a permanent mission station in the West? Would it be best to have schools connected with the mission? Is there any place in view for the seat of the mission? What literary attainments would be indispensable for a missionary? Would it be thought necessary for some person to accompany you on your prospective Western tour?"

The replies were as clear-cut as the questions. They were in effect as follows: To the first, an emphatic "Yes." To the second, "Yes." To the third, "St. Louis, probably." To the fourth, "A good English education and as much more as possible." To the fifth, "Yes, if the person in question is ready to offer himself as a missionary, and go West *for life.*" The writer adds words of hearty en-

couragement, expressing his joy at the prospect of Peck's entrance into missionary labor.

Such enlistment was made definite by the warm-hearted letter from Rice. The future pioneer resolved to dedicate his life to mission work in the West, and to spend a period of time in preparation for such work. So in a short time he became a student in Doctor Staughton's embryo theological seminary in Philadelphia. There he spent one full year. Five young men constituted the student group. All of them boarded and lodged in the good doctor's home. One of them, James E. Welch, was destined to be a dear friend and colaborer during future fruitful years.

A new world dawned upon the view of the young man from the mountain settlements. He girded himself for the opportunity. Eye and brain and heart were open and responsive. He crowded his year of study with impressions, reflections, disciplines, energies, and activities of every sort. He gave missionary addresses in all directions. He talked with prisoners in jails and with poor people in the slums. He worked strenuously at Hebrew, Greek, Latin, natural philosophy, and theological subjects. He aided Mr. Rice in his office of Secretary to the Foreign Mission Board At Doctor Staughton's home he met many of the most prominent denominational leaders of the day.

In May, 1817, the first regular meeting of the Triennial Convention of American Baptists was held in Philadelphia. It was a notable gathering. Reports were read from the British Mission at Seram-

pore and from Judson and Hough of the Burman Mission. With beating heart and nervous fingers Peck writes of these sessions in his diary. He wishes that he might be with the missionaries in Burma, yet the call of the West is sounding more loudly than ever. Joyously he records the fact that on the third day the Board reported their desire to establish a mission somewhere in the American West.

On the fourth day desire ripens into reality. The Convention determines to alter the constitution of the Board to make room for the establishment of a mission in Western America. No sooner said than done. The alterations are made and the "Domestic Mission" is created. After the Convention adjourns the Board meets. The matter of the new mission is thoroughly discussed. As usual progressives and conservatives indulge in wordy battles. Shall the mission be limited to the itinerancy of a single missionary amongst destitute churches, or shall a statesmanlike policy of broad missionary dimensions be adopted? Both Peck and Welch, who have already expressed their willingness to go out as missionaries of the Board, suffer intensely during this crucial debate. Then after two days of prolonged discussion, the die is cast. The nobler view prevails.

John Mason Peck and James E. Welch were appointed the first missionaries of the Baptist Board to the New Missouri Territory, and $1,000 was appropriated for their initial expenses and for the inauguration of the new work. Thus began the Baptist missionary enterprise in Western America. On Sunday, May 18, 1817, the two young men were pub-

licly set apart for their work. The exercises were held in the Sansom Street Church, of which Doctor Staughton was pastor, and he gave the hand of fellowship into the ministry to the two ardent young pioneers. What a man was this Doctor Staughton! He was present as a youth at the inauguration of the English Baptist Missionary Society in Kettering. He was present at the inauguration of the Triennial Convention of the Baptists of America in its preliminary meeting in 1814. He was present at the inauguration of the Baptist foreign-missionary enterprise of America and was its first Secretary. He is now present at the inauguration of Baptist missionary work in Western America, and gives official greetings and farewells to its first two missionary ambassadors.

Mr. and Mrs. Peck and their children left Litchfield in a one-horse wagon on July 26, 1817, bound for life service in the New Occident, the land of illimitable promise. On the first day of December they landed at St. Louis from the river packet to which they had transferred their luggage and themselves at Shawneetown. Mr. Peck was carried ashore in a dangerous physical condition. The miserable inns of the town were crowded, so the sick man and his family were lodged in a single small room that had been used as an accountant's office. St. Louis was at that time "a wretched French village, full of the habitations of iniquity." Blasphemous infidelity and roistering profligacy abounded.

In the midst of an environment of squalor, confusion, and vice, and with here and there a ray of

light imparted by some noble Christian life, the missionaries began their labors. Mr. and Mrs. Welch had arrived one week earlier than the Peck family. Peck and Welch went to work with a will. The intensity of their zeal burned away many barriers. They rented a small room in the rear of a store and established there a school and preaching station. In this humble gathering-place began Baptist undertakings beyond the Mississippi. The Pecks and the Welchs were the progenitors of thousands and millions of church-members, who since their time, and now, have heard the Baptist challenge and followed the Baptist banner in the vast region beyond the boundaries of the Father of Waters.

At the end of two months an immense crowd gathered on the banks of the majestic Mississippi to witness the baptism of two converts. Soon a few public-spirited men of the community were persuaded to give $3,000 toward the erection of a chapel, and the building was at once begun. Three schools had been commenced, and these were united after a few months, the combined institution receiving the dignified title of the "Western Mission Academy." The two missionaries did not restrict themselves to St. Louis; they pushed out in all directions. In June Mr. Peck made his first visit to Illinois, the scene of his future labors. In the months that followed, he made several long trips through the rude frontier settlements.

Always keen and observant, he studied the condition and needs of the people. The schools he found in a deplorable state. He says, "I found at least

three-quarters of all the masters and schools were public nuisances, and ought to have been indicted by the Grand Jury." Although entirely unpractised in the higher learning he was at all times a powerful advocate of intellectual training. By his personal effort, well-trained young men, usually college graduates, were brought from New England to take the places of the "whiskey-drinking Irishmen," with a small smattering of ill-digested knowledge, who at the time of his advent had the monopoly of school-teaching privileges.

Mr. Welch was naturally a dweller at home. Mr. Peck was by nature an explorer. So one of them devoted himself chiefly to the mission in St. Louis, while the other roamed the prairies on horseback. Illinois rather than Missouri attracted him from the first. There were some Baptist preachers and missionaries already in the field. They followed their own plans, working independently. The few feeble churches struggled to maintain a pitiful existence. An uncomfortable minority of the preachers were utterly opposed to Mr. Peck's methods. These obtuse and obstinate men had a quartette of special hatreds. They were strongly opposed to schools, missions, a salaried ministry, and Sunday schools.

One of these men stated frankly the reason for his objection to allowing any ministers from the East to preach in the churches of the Sagamore Association: "Well, if you must know, Mr. Moderator, you know the big trees in the woods overshadow the little ones; and these missionaries will be all great learned men, and the people will go where they

preach, and we shall all be put down, that is the objection."

Such preachers had a lot of human nature in their make-up, but it was a cantankerous and unlovely nature. They were orthodox but unmoral. They preached a crude and cruel theology. The churches that they organized have long since dwindled, and died of premature senility. They belonged to an age of religious intolerance. They were Baptists only in name, for they missed completely that passion for liberty, that zeal for the full development of the individual soul and conscience that have been watchwords of the Baptist faith throughout the centuries.

From the beginning, John Mason Peck had his fine ideals fully in view. More light, more knowledge, greater spiritual freedom, simple obedience to Jesus Christ, loyalty to the blessed Word, and the training of youth in the ways of the Spirit, were the basis of his ministry. For the enshrinement of these ideals in the lives of the people and in the service of the churches he toiled early and late for exactly forty years.

One of his earliest achievements was the formation of a society to embrace all of the scattered Baptist churches of Illinois and Missouri. The first object of this body was to aid the Western Mission in the spreading of the gospel. Another of his aims was to provide good common schools and competent teachers. The Society was to secure the teachers and establish the schools. The local communities were to pay the salaries and other expenses.

Distances were great, facilities for travel were almost unknown, the churches were desperately poor, the sentiment against education was strong, the conditions of life were primitive, and the people were occupied with the immediate and laborious tasks of clearing the land and making a livelihood. Nevertheless, the impossible was achieved. Under the urge of Mr. Peck's dynamic energy, within three years after the formation of the new society, more than fifty good schools were established, under the direction of excellent teachers, where before the drunken and illiterate Irish Catholic teachers had controlled the situation. Here verily was a clean crusade for freedom! And the good work went steadily on, year after year.

In surveying the life of John Mason Peck one is constantly impressed by the fact that he had an unerring eye for the important things. He, more fully than any other single individual, brought the blessings of democracy to the West, and established the civilization of the Mississippi Valley in morality and righteousness. The first crying need that he noticed and proceeded to supply, was the need for schools. The second sore need that he noticed was the need for Bibles.

The immigrants usually brought their families with them, their household furniture, and often their live stock, but they did not bring their Bibles. So Mr. Peck wrote to the American Bible Society and had a branch established in St. Louis. He himself organized this branch as the Missouri Bible Society. Upon this he drew liberally. Wherever he went he

carried Bibles and other religious literature in his saddle-bags, and distributed them amongst the people. Other missionaries, as well as many Christian men and women, became informal colporters. As a direct result of his efforts there was formed a channel, through which a never-ceasing stream of Bibles and Testaments flowed out into the Great West.

In the untamed wilderness regions of Central and Southwestern Missouri, in the bottom-lands and dreary prairie settlements of Western and Central Illinois, the man of God went with his message of salvation. It was an ordinary circumstance for him to travel four hundred miles a month on horseback. He drew Christian folk together and formed Sunday schools. These useful institutions were still a novelty in the East; he made them the main portion of the standard equipment of every church in the West. He went beyond this. If there was sufficient local material to found a church he founded a church, and added a Sunday school. If there was no chance for a church, he formed a Sunday school, and let it go at that. But again and again real and even vigorous churches grew out of these independent Sunday schools.

John Mason Peck was designed by nature to be a peripatetic pioneer, and he was designed by grace to do his pioneering in the name of Almighty God. His travels were neither haphazard nor inconsequential. He possessed administrative gifts of a high order. He was always organizing something; yet he organized not for the sake of organizing, but for the sake of the real need, the great objective that

lay back of the "something." On his various tours he sought to leave in every place where there was promise of growth, a society of some sort to continue the work and to act as a medium of communication with the outside religious world. So he founded many branch Bible societies, Sunday schools, temperance societies, and Female Mite Societies. Wherever possible he founded a church.

He was a devout believer in St. Paul; but he also believed most heartily in woman's work and woman's testimony. So he formed a legion of Female Mite Societies, which elected officers, held stated meetings, prayed and worked for missions, and entered into other forms of Christian and community activity. The first three that he established in the territory of Illinois bore the euphonious titles of "The Ogle's Creek Female Mite Society," "Looking-Glass Prairie Female Mite Society," and "Cantine Creek Female Mite Society." By no means the least of his great deeds was this enlistment of the valiant services of the good women of the isolated pioneer settlements.

In a general way we have covered the history of many years in this account of the methods and work of the Pioneer. We may retrace our steps to speak of some of the drawbacks and disasters that he had to face. Soon after his arrival he had established an academy at St. Charles, twenty miles northeast of St. Louis, and removed his residence thither. The school grew and throve for a brief period. It came to grief because its principal was a rogue. This Mr. Craig was an affable gentleman with eccentric

notions about matters of fundamental morality. It is possible that the academy might have survived the scandal, but just at that time another calamity came to pass.

At the meeting of the Triennial Convention in 1820 the work of Western Missions was abruptly terminated by official decree. The two fascinating interests of Burman missions and the Columbian College so absorbed the vision of the Board in Philadelphia that their view of American need was bounded on the West by the Ohio River. We need not enter into detail. Suffice it that the Board utterly failed to realize the deplorable need and the limitless opportunity in the rapidly growing sections of the New West. The tragic news came to Mr. Peck when he lay at the point of death, ill with bilious fever contracted in his long and dangerous journeys.

The Board asked Mr. Peck to go to Fort Wayne, 350 miles northeast of St. Louis, and join forces with Isaac McCoy in work for the Indians; and requested Mr. Welch to remain where he was. Not a cent of money was available for Peck's going nor for Welch's staying. Welch at once returned to the East. For Peck to journey to Fort Wayne ill and penniless, was as impossible as a voyage to the moon. Besides, his whole soul was wrapped up in the interests of the farther frontier field. He wrote to the Board, in courteous tones, but in expressing his inflexible purpose to continue the work he had so well begun, he showed the iron hand within the glove. He could not and would not be moved.

For a year or so the Pioneer struggled and sacri-

ficed, and prayed—alone. He continued his journeys amongst the feeble churches of the region. He wrought indefatigably. Then the Massachusetts Baptist Missionary Society magnanimously came to his aid. It was a generous action, but unfortunately the term " magnanimous " must be distinctly qualified. The Society spread over him the ægis of their name and authority, but they offered him as a salary only five dollars a week, for the time actually spent in the field, and stipulated that if possible he should raise his own salary! However, the sympathy of the Massachusetts Baptists gave the great-hearted pioneer new courage for his work.

From St. Charles he moved to Rock Spring, Illinois. There he organized a church in his own home; and from there he itinerated throughout Illinois and Missouri, taking with him on every journey as many Bibles, Testaments, tracts, and pamphlets as his horse could carry. As the boundaries of civilization were extended, as the immigrants pushed up into Central Illinois and yet farther north, and the frontiers moved westward in Missouri, this far-seeing man enlarged the field of his activities and the scope of his beneficent ministry.

Besides the incessant work of organization, of which we have spoken, he preached on all possible occasions and held conversations, especially on religious subjects, with all persons whom he met. His preaching was not that of the orator; he was rather inclined to poke fun at pulpit orations. His words were persuasive and searching, and he had power over men's souls. Out of the pulpit he was always

eagerly seeking after new knowledge. He had a gift for skilful questioning, a tenacious memory, and a systematic mind. So he soon became an authority on matters great and small.

He was an eminent constructor. He said once: "I am deeply impressed with the idea that every mission, whether foreign or domestic, should be pursued upon the principle of making every part of the world Christianize itself. On this principle it has been my object to call into action and improve all the gifts and talents around me, some in the Bible cause, some in Sabbath-school instruction, and others as itinerant preachers." Had all our missionaries at home and abroad seen clearly the common-sense wisdom of this plan the outposts of the Kingdom would be vastly more vigorous than they are today.

Many missions can count hosts of feeble and dependent converts—but they fail to breed productiveness and power. Our Pioneer was ruggedly independent in his own character. He carried on his immense mission enterprise with little or no help from any Board, even from the beginning. He fostered independence and freedom in all the churches and organizations that he founded.

In 1826 he visited the East, going the most of the way on horseback in midwinter, through mud and snow and rain. He had two objects: To impart to others his own zeal for the evangelization of the West, and to explain and enforce the need for a trained ministry and an educated citizenship. In Philadelphia he met many old friends, amongst them Doctor Staughton and Luther Rice. In New York he

attended the Triennial Convention, speaking at several sessions. In Boston he laid before the Massachusetts Missionary Society an elaborate plan of operations for future work in the West, supporting it with almost inspired eloquence. It was adopted, and he was commissioned to secure funds for its full establishment.

An integral part of this plan was the founding of a theological school in Illinois, to train young men for the ministry. Such a school, he said, had been in his mind for years, as a very necessary part of the system of measures which he had been carrying forward. Nearly four months were spent in a tour of New England and New York, visiting churches and individuals and pleading the cause that dwelt in his heart of hearts. His aged mother returned with him. It is an instance of the tenderness of this man of strength that he had an easy two-horse carriage built especially for her, and that he bought an additional horse, in order that she might have a comfortable journey. He reached home in November, after nine months' absence.

As a result of his own intrepid will and high purpose, and because of the help he had received in the East, he was able to inaugurate a yet larger work than before. To his complex and splendidly organized system of itinerant evangelism, Bible work, and Sunday-school enterprise, he added within three years a central seminary for academic instruction, a weekly religious journal, and circuit-preaching by a group of men carefully chosen.

On the first of January, 1827, a number of his

stanch friends from different parts of the State met at his house and decided by a unanimous vote to establish a Literary and Theological Seminary. Mr. Peck donated land on his own farm as a site for the school and building operations were at once begun. In September a substantial two-story structure with two wings had been completed, besides a carpenter's shop for manual training and a log cabin to serve as a boarding-hall. On the first of November, the Seminary opened, with Rev. Joshua Bradley, a graduate of Brown University, as Principal, Mr. John Russell as head of the high-school department, and more than twenty students in attendance.

The teachers were alert and resourceful men, and Mr. Peck was a tower of strength. The school did most excellent work. It was the first educational institution, above the grade of a district school, to be established in the vast territory west of the Ohio River. After four years it was removed to a more strategic location, at Alton, and there it has continued its quiet but efficient service until this day. It was known successively as Alton Seminary, Alton College, and Shurtleff College. Thousands of splendid young men have been trained by its teachers. To the last day of his life Mr. Peck took an intense interest in its welfare.

By the year 1831 such a many-sided and productive enterprise as the Christian church has seldom seen, was going forward with power and success, and covering two of the great empire-sections of the West; and it was energized by the brain and heart of a humble Baptist missionary. It is forever to the

honor of the Massachusetts Society that when its members witnessed the marvelous expansion of all the interests set in motion and controlled by this man, they realized that a work so stupendous demanded a larger body of management. They said in effect: "The labors of this man can no longer be governed by a State: they must belong to a nation. There should be organized a great national society to direct our home missionary enterprise."

So they sent Dr. Jonathan Going, afterward President of Denison University, to spy out the land. Mr. Peck says in his journal, "Today Elder J. Going, of Massachusetts, sent out to explore the condition of Baptists in the West, arrived at my house." He refers here to his humble private dwelling at Rock Spring. But he had a house of larger dimensions. Its roof was the blue sky, and its chambers and apartments were to be found in forest, town, and prairie throughout the broad expanse of two imperial States. This larger house was his real dwelling. He had lived in it day and night, and he loved it. Through this larger house of his habitation he conducted Doctor Going on horseback, during three full months. As they rode they talked, and the fiery earnestness of the Pioneer laid hold of the heart and kindled the imagination of the Eastern man. Before they finally parted at Shelbyville, Kentucky, Mr. Peck wrote in his journal, "Here we agreed on a plan of The American Baptist Home Mission Society."

Thus was born in the spirit of humble faith the great organization whose influence has penetrated to

every nook and corner of our land, and which holds today a position of unrivaled power amongst the missionary agencies of America and of the world. The idea of the plan had already lain in the mind of John Mason Peck for years, and he was the real father and founder of the Society.

From 1843 to 1846 Mr. Peck served as Secretary of the Publication Society in Philadelphia. He was regarded at that time as the ablest administrator in the denomination. The Society was weak, incompetent, and unsuccessful in its operations. The new Secretary galvanized it into life. He became the real founder of the organization as we know it today. He carried the principles of economy, system, and progress into every department. The history of the toils, the personal sacrifices, the resolute grappling with perplexing problems, and the constant tours amongst the churches, cannot be related here.

Almost at once he brought order out of chaos. He planned the present system of branch depositories. He enlarged the staff of colporters. Contributions increased steadily. Though secession had invaded the ranks of the older Societies he succeeded in keeping the Northern and Southern churches in fraternal fellowship, and in joint support of the Philadelphia interests. At the end of the three years he had established the Society in full and permanent strength. Then he returned to his loved Western land with joy and rejoicing.

With the exception of this interregnum the Pioneer gave his life to the West. The last ten or twelve years of his life were devoted to the task of reen-

forcing and extending the many agencies of power which he had already established. To the very last he had his eye on every portion of his intricate and wonderfully efficient work.

In June, 1857, the old man, worn and weakened with the toils of many years, summoned strength sufficient to attend the Commencement at Shurtleff, and to take part in the sessions of the Board of Trustees. After that his sufferings were severe. Still the care of all the churches occupied his thoughts and were spread before God in his prayers. He died on Tuesday, March 14, 1858. His last words were a benediction upon the members of his family, gathered about his bed.

Consider the scope of this man's efforts. His influence in the founding of the Home Mission Society and the reshaping and second founding of the Publication Society was pivotal and determinative. For the Bible Society he wrought untiringly. For the Sunday School Union he was constantly organizing new centers of interest. He was one of the founders of the Illinois Temperance Society. The Colonization Society owed more to his advocacy in Illinois and Missouri than to that of any other man. He conducted for forty years his system of personal investigation and evangelization, carrying it ever farther on and out into newly opened sections of country. He wrought mightily for the Seminary and afterward for the College, serving each in many capacities.

He gave solicitous attention to the common schools and to general education from the moment of his first arrival in the West. The far-stretching plan

of circuit-preaching was under his immediate supervision. For years he edited the *Western Pioneer* along with all his other duties. He was an authority on the social and political questions which were connected with the growth and settlement of the new country; and he wrote thousands of letters on these subjects. Besides all this, he worked his farm at Rock Spring in order to support his family, for practically all of his multifarious activities were carried forward at his own expense.

His family was very dear to him. The constant references in his journal attest the truth of this fact. They portray his ceaseless solicitude for the members of his loved family circle, from whom the demands of his calling forced him to be absent so much of the time. They chronicle his joy and gratitude when his children, one by one, were led to confess their Saviour. In his journeys he went out of his way, times without number, to visit old friends; this was about his only recreation.

He had nothing of the culture of the fine gentleman, and he despised the bonhommie of the man of the world. He loved to be called "the Old Pioneer." Though born in the East he was a typical Son of the West. His principal published work, the *Guide to Emigrants*, had the effect of bringing thousands of the better type of settlers into the Missouri Valley, and it was issued in edition after edition.

His breeziness and vigor were contagious. His frankness of speech and abruptness of manner were sometimes more disconcerting than charming, but they showed his honest independence. His absence

of dignified reserve, his abounding joy in life, his intensity of faith and virility in action, were akin to the spirit of the rolling prairies and the mighty rivers of the New West.

On the occasion of his last visit to New England he was made a Doctor of Divinity by Harvard University. Although he appreciated this tribute to his labors and achievements he gave little thought to degrees and titles; he was always after greater things.

He was an apostle of freedom. He could not abide the encrustations of ecclesiasticism. He hated all enslaving forms. In politics he was an out-and-out abolitionist, fierce for the abolishment of slavery long before the days of the Civil War. Above all else he fought to free men from their sins of selfishness. He was a mighty master-builder, a maker of men and of institutions. He set the corner-stones of truth and righteousness, firmly and deeply, in the fabric of a new civilization.

XVI

WILLIAM KNIBB

Emancipator

WILLIAM KNIBB: 1803–1845

I. A Divine Call:
1. Thomas and William Knibb become Christians in Bristol.
2. Jamaica calls for missionaries; conditions in the island.
3. Thomas Knibb responds; dies within a year.
4. William offers for his brother's place and is accepted.
5. Three months of study; marriage at 20; departure.

II. A Dramatic Dedication:
1. Knibb challenges the curse of slavery.
2. Builds a school; teaches and preaches, organizes.
3. Combats "Consolidated Slave Law."
4. Commission recites crimes of Baptists.
5. English agents refuse to circulate Commission's Report.

III. A Serious Struggle:
1. The case of Sam Swiney.
2. Knibb and the magistrates.
   (1) Knibb publicly accuses the magistrates.
   (2) Appeal to the British Government.
   (3) The Governor defends Knibb, dismisses magistrates.
3. Knibb moves to Falmouth, a district of 26,000 slaves.
4. Planters and public meetings denounce Knibb.

IV. A Critical Issue:
1. False stories incite slaves to revolt.
2. The Jamaican insurrection.
3. Knibb is arrested and abused; then released.
4. His chapels burned; his members scattered.

V. A Crusade for Liberty:
1. Knibb visits England; meets Mission Directors: Counsels of timidity.
2. Knibb converts the Mission group, the Baptist people, the British public.
3. A whirlwind campaign.
4. Meets committees of Lords and Commons.
5. England aroused to white heat.
6. Parliament abolishes colonial slavery.

VI. The Aftermath:
1. Knibb secures funds to rebuild chapels.
2. Returns to Jamaica; continues fight for justice.
3. Demolishes apprenticeship system.
4. Furthers social and educational reforms.
5. Dies at 42, mourned by an entire race.

WILLIAM KNIBB

Emancipator

Dr. John Ryland and Andrew Fuller were indomitable supporters of William Carey and his associates in the Far East. They were devoted evangelists as well. Andrew Fuller's son became a prosperous business man as well as an ardent Christian. In 1816 he removed his printing business from Kettering to Bristol, where Doctor Ryland had long been pastor of the Broadmead church. He took with him two boys, brothers, who had been in his employ in Kettering. Thomas Knibb, the elder of these two boys, was at that time seventeen years of age, while William, the younger, was thirteen.

The boys were very different. Thomas was serious beyond his years, and his intellectual vigor had already inclined him to ways of earnest and methodical study. William was a breezier type, full of fun, a favorite with every one, caring little for severe application, yet possessed of a fixity of purpose and determination of spirit in any enterprise to which he set his hand, which awakened the admiration of his friends. Even in grammar-school days he was forever championing the cause of weaker and younger boys, taking their part and fighting their battles joyously.

Through the fine influence of Doctor Ryland and Mr. Fuller, Thomas Knibb became a Christian and

was baptized in 1820, and William in 1822. Both boys began teaching in the Sunday school and engaging freely in other forms of religious activity in destitute parts of the city, conducting mission work in the slums and preaching in the streets.

Soon a loud call came to English Christians from Jamaica. Men were wanted for pioneer missionary service amongst the thousands of black slaves in that island.

A call from Jamaica was a call from one of the most prosperous of England's self-governing colonies. Jamaica was fat and flourishing, bringing forth for many markets great quantities of sugar and other tropical products. For one hundred and sixty years it had been the headquarters of the Royal African Company. Negroes from the West Coast of Africa were constantly being transported to the various British islands in the Caribbean Sea. Jamaica was the center of vast trading operations. The English planters and their overseers on the plantations cared little for the lives of the slaves, and less for their morals. They worked them abominably hard, so that they died by hundreds, fresh importations constantly filling their places.

A few free Negro evangelists had labored intermittently amongst these people, but the local legislative body, hating missionary effort and fearing its effects, passed restrictive laws. Finally white missionaries began to appear, in spite of the prohibitions, and by 1831 there were eleven thousand members enrolled in twenty-four churches under the care of fourteen pastors.

As in the East Indies so in the West Indies, Christianity threatened the greed and inhumanity of the governing classes. Therefore Christianity must be rigorously excluded. In the year 1822 the planters, with their minions, the legislators and the local press, were strongly united against all missionary aggression. In that year Thomas Knibb was aroused by the call from this far-away land. Under the influence of Ryland and Fuller he volunteered for service, and was sent out as a missionary teacher and preacher. Within a few months after his arrival he was smitten with disease and died.

The sad tidings was communicated to William Knibb by his two good friends. He was still a mere boy, only twenty years of age, but instantly, after his first expression of passionate grief on hearing of his dear brother's death, he cried, "Then if the Society will accept me, I'll go out and take his place!" Thus within his soul was born a controlling purpose which never was extinguished, but grew and strengthened with the years.

Matters moved quickly. In the slave colony there was sore need. In the heart of the boy burned a holy passion. The Missionary Society at once agreed to send him forth as a teacher, for he had not yet shown any peculiar promise as a preacher, and the toils of a pastor and evangelist were quite foreign to his brief experience in city-mission work. After three months of intensive study of the British system of education at the Borough Road School in London he was ready for service. On October 5, 1824, he was married to a young girl, Miss May Wat-

kins, a member of the Broadmead church, and on the sixth of November the newly wedded couple set sail from Blackwell, bound for the scene of their life-work.

Even at the very outset of his new career he was imbued with a profound detestation of the whole slave system. In his diary on the ocean voyage he wrote:

> Had a conversation with our fellow passenger on slavery. His very attempts to justify it evince him to be replete with every enmity. He has slaves but never punishes any but females, as they cannot be brought into subjection without it. He is an odious picture of the brutalizing and immoral tendency of this execrable system which calls loudly for the curse of every friend of common decency. I pray God that I may never view with indifference a system of so infernal a nature!

These are no complacent words of a placid onlooker. They may well be regarded as the text or slogan of his glorious life-battle.

Now begins the story of the dramatic dedication of a great life to a great cause. On his arrival in Jamaica William took up the work which his brother had laid down. Six other missionaries were in the service of the Baptist Mission in different parts of the island. The young man judged the situation correctly at the very beginning. He wrote to a friend soon after his arrival: "I have now reached the land of sin and disease and death, where Satan reigns with awful power, and carries multitudes captive at his will. True religion is scoffed at, and those who profess it are ridiculed and insulted.

The poor, oppressed, benighted, and despised sons of Africa form a pleasing contrast to the debauched white population."

Two months after his labors in the island began he wrote to his mother: "The cursed blast of slavery has, like a pestilence, withered almost every moral bloom. I know not how any person can feel a union with such a monster, such a child of hell. For myself I feel a burning hatred against it, and look upon it as one of the most odious monsters that ever disgraced the earth."

Men who accomplish things are men who have convictions. Men who win victories are men who possess a flaming passion of purpose and of power to fight. William Knibb had convictions, a passionate purpose, and an unconquerable energy to fight. There were a goodly number of missionaries of various denominations who were doing excellent work by their preaching and teaching. But now comes the unterrified prophet of righteousness. Almost at once things begin to move in the direction of conflict and eventual triumph.

William Knibb plunged into the activities of his new mission with enthusiasm. He found his educational facilities and equipment at a minimum. The schoolhouse was in a most unhealthful location. It had no ceiling, and the roof consisted of thin boards poorly fitted together. The building was too small to house the pupils, badly constructed, and in complete disrepair. In front was a gully. When it rained the water rushed like a river through this gully, to the depth of six or eight feet. Nearly all

the school equipment had been scattered or stolen during the months since Thomas Knibb's death.

His first piece of work was the erection of a new school. He carried the plan to a prompt and satisfying completion. The new building was sixty feet by thirty-four, and arranged to accommodate 250 children. It was situated in the mission premises, high and healthful, with the breeze from the sea blowing directly through it. Here, from nine until three, the young schoolmaster gave his devoted care to the interests of the Negro youngsters. Order was easily enforced, the number of scholars steadily increased, a Sunday school for adults and children was formed, prayer-meetings for the children and their parents were established, and the influence of the school extended far beyond its immediate limits. Everything went merrily forward.

Then the school was enlarged by the construction of a building for the girls, adjacent to the other. The ceremonies were imposing. Three hundred scholars marched in procession, the girls dressed in white and carrying flowers. The corner-stone was laid by two of the more promising pupils, "the general monitor of order" and "the general monitor of reading." The whole assembly then joined in singing the national anthem. The money for the buildings was obtained through personal letters to individuals in England—William Knibb's letters were like himself, persuasive, appealing, and productive.

This introductory accomplishment is described in detail because it is an index to the spirit of the man. He was never content with "things as they are."

WILLIAM KNIBB

Emancipator

He was forever reaching forward, changing, molding, improving. He was eminent in diligence. Of course he could not confine his work to the routine of a teacher. He chafed at every sort of restraint. He longed to exercise his gifts as a preacher, and as an executive in charge of large tasks. So he soon began traveling, preaching, and organizing in different parts of the island.

From a kindly helper and careful teacher William Knibb was transformed by his experiences into a warrior of truth. His public ministry began at Port Royal in the chapel where his brother had preached. Exactly one year from the date of Thomas Knibb's last sermon the place of worship was reopened by William Knibb. The congregations grew greatly, many happy converts were received, and within six months it became necessary to enlarge the building to twice its former size in order to accommodate the crowds.

The young missionary, now arrived at the mature age of twenty-three, also preached in Kingston and elsewhere, as he had opportunity. Chiefly through his efforts the Baptists of the island were drawn into closer sympathy, and in 1826 the Jamaica Association was organized, with him as its first secretary. His prayer-meetings grew to an attendance of one thousand. His labors were extraordinary. After a year of service at Kingston he was designated by the British Society to Savanna-la-Mar, a larger field.

The Consolidated Slave Law, containing clauses which severely restricted "sectarian ministers and

teachers of religion," was now passed by the local House of Assembly. It was disallowed by His Majesty's government in England as the direct result of a powerful appeal of the English Baptist Mission Society. The Jamaican planters were furious at this interference, and a course of systematic slander against the missionaries was instituted. How dare those English Baptists meddle with their business? And how dare the House of Commons place the bigotry of English Baptists before loyalty to rich colonial planters?

"The newspapers teem with the most unblushing falsehoods against us," wrote Knibb: "we are called liars, pickpockets, vagabonds, scoundrels and every term of reproach that malice can invent. If Satan has any shame, I think he must be ashamed of his agents here." The senior magistrate in Kingston sent for Knibb and sought to persuade him to quit preaching. He said in reply, "I am sent here to preach, and preach I must and shall, and take the consequences."

The colonists, sure of their strength, reenacted the Consolidated Slave Law, which the Governor, the fair-minded Sir John Keane, promptly and positively refused to sign. So the colonists resorted to vicious persecution. They appointed a "Sectarian Commission" to inquire into the establishments and proceedings of sectarians in the island. After an *opera-bouffe* examination of witnesses the Commission reported that terrible things were going forward, and proceeded to elaborate the heinous crimes of the dissenters and especially of the Baptists.

According to this report the principal object of the missionaries was to extort money from their congregations on every possible pretext and by most indecent expedients. One of these was the selling of tickets to slaves, the tickets affirming that their holders were converted or "saved," and in line for heaven. Also, they taught the doctrines of equality and the rights of man. Also, they inculcated sedition and rebellion. Also they caused abject poverty, loss of comfort, and discontent among the slaves and deterioration of the property of their masters. Also they recommended females to resort to prostitution in order to get money for chapel contributions.

Let it be borne in mind that these charges were made not as a hideous joke, but as a solemn declaration of facts. More than this. Tens of thousands of copies of the report were sent to the agents in England for wide distribution through all parts of the mother country. They were intended to destroy the character of the missions and the value of their labors in the eyes of the British public, thus preparing the way for their expulsion from the West Indies and the permanent and indestructible confirmation of slavery.

Fortunately the devil often overreaches himself. He did in this case. The Jamaican agents in London, knowing the temper and honest good sense of the English people, declined to circulate the incredible calumnies. Had these been less extravagant they would have been broadcast and undoubtedly would have done serious damage. But in the form which they took they were "quite unsuitable to the lati-

tude of England." Even in Jamaica they made friends rather than foes for the missionary cause amongst right-thinking people. One of the newspapers, shaking itself free from subservience to the planters, was courageous enough to denounce such " unprincipled hostility " brought about by the criminal debauching of witnesses.

Having failed to secure endorsement of their Slave Act, the planters and their emissaries followed two lines of persecuting policy. They searched the records and made use of clauses in old laws, long before enacted and long forgotten, that laid restrictions upon evangelizing agencies, and used these to the limits of their power. They also entered upon a series of petty persecutions in all parts of the island, doing everything that a fiendish subtlety could suggest, to hamper the work of the missionary body.

One of the incidents that determined William Knibb's fierce and implacable public warfare against slavery was the case of Sam Swiney. This man was young and intelligent, a slave but a respectable tradesman as well, who was highly respected, and had been serving as a deacon of the Baptist church in Savanna-la-Mar. Mr. Knibb being ill, many of his friends, both bond and free, met at his house to pray. Information of this fact was carried to the magistrate. Preaching on the part of any slave was at this time prohibited by local laws. The magistrate insisted that Sam Swiney had been preaching at the missionary's home. Knibb tried to explain that preaching and praying were not the

same, but the officer of justice was adamant. He knew nothing of preaching, nor of praying, so how could he know the difference between them?

So Swiney, for offering a prayer to God, and nothing more, was sentenced to receive twenty lashes on his bare back and to be worked on the road, and in chains, for two weeks. William Knibb exerted himself to the utmost to have the sentence mitigated, but in vain. Stretched naked on the ground, and held down by four slaves, Swiney was publicly whipped. Then he was raised up, chained to a convict, and sent forth to his labor. Knibb walked by his side all the way, and then taking his hand bade him be of good cheer, and promised to send him whatsoever he should need during his detention.

A few days later, in a spirit of dauntless courage, he sent to the one newspaper that would dare to publish it, a full account of the despicable proceedings. This act procured him the intensified hatred of the slave-owning class; but news of the matter reached England, and soon a large sum was forwarded from that land to purchase Sam Swiney's freedom. Knibb was threatened with prosecution for libel, with arrest and even with death for his stout stand. To all of this he quietly replied: "Reproach and falsehood are plentifully bestowed upon me. They have long since ceased to affect me. I procured the man's freedom which was worth all."

He also reported the affair in detail to Mr. Dyer, the secretary of the Mission Society in England. Dyer forwarded the account to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, who sent it to Lord Belmore,

governor of Jamaica. This fair-dealing man investigated the matter and then instantly dismissed in disgrace the magistrates responsible for the punishment. The House of Assembly, infuriated by this action, summoned Knibb and others for examination and treated them with abominable harshness; but in heroic spirit he writes: "Thanks be to God, *nothing* shall be inscribed on all the attempts of the devil and his agents to obstruct the gospel in its glorious and triumphal progress. Christ must increase."

The important church at Falmouth became pastorless in 1830, and William Knibb was chosen for the place. Rev. Mr. Burchill, who was afterward closely associated with him in his anti-slavery campaign, presided at the meeting and presented the name of Mr. Knibb, asking for a vote. The whole church, consisting of several hundred persons, simultaneously rose to their feet, held up their hands and then burst into tears. "Such a feeling," says Burchill, "I never witnessed before: I wept with them." Already the great and good man was deeply beloved by this people, and it was their highest joy to call him as their new leader.

In Falmouth he found himself with a church of seven hundred members in the midst of a district containing 26,000 slaves, utterly ignorant and without any means of instruction. He preached three times each Sunday at the central church, and during the week at five outstations. Chapels were crowded. Hundreds of promising converts were brought to Christ. For years he traveled more than four thou-

sand miles each year in pursuit of his duties. His field was eighty-six miles in width. His labors were herculean.

Meanwhile the powerful planters were becoming alarmed at the activities of the antislavery forces. Public meetings were held all over Jamaica, in which the work of William Knibb and a few of the other missionaries was denounced as "the false and infamous representations of infuriated lunatics." Stories were spread abroad that England was bent upon making the slaves free, but that the planters would murder them before they could obtain that freedom. Some of the planters, High Churchmen and excellent church attendants, told their slaves that they would kill them before they would bow to the mandate of freedom.

By such threats the whole slave population was wrought into a frenzy. It became obsessed by the idea, fostered by the masters themselves, that if freedom were declared they would prevent the edict from being carried into effect. Thus the planters by their fiery resentment "set their own estates on fire." Increased cruelty toward their slaves was also a part of their mistaken policy. In bringing about the insurrection they had two motives. They sought to harm the missionaries by casting all blame for the revolt upon them; they were determined to use the revolt as an excuse for yet more autocratic and brutal measures than before, against the slaves.

Believing that the king had made them free (although at this time the king had no such intention) and that the news was being kept from them, some

of the controlling spirits amongst the slave population decided not to work after Christmas, but to begin then the business of burning the plantations. So, on the night of December 27, 1831, the blaze of burning sugar works told that the revolt had begun, and from that day all was military massacre and lawless revenge. A fearful period of desolation and slaughter followed.

The entire plot had been concocted in secrecy. The missions were kept in ignorance, for the slaves well knew that the Christian leaders would do all in their power to avert the threatened calamity. But the planters knew even every detail of the insurrection program which they themselves had fostered. William Knibb first heard of the matter on the twenty-sixth of December. He took immediate action in his district, as did other missionaries in their fields, to prevent the catastrophe. But it was too late, and their entreaties went for naught.

It is said that the entire history of the British government, at home and abroad, affords few if any parallels to the fearful outrage and suffering created by the Jamaican insurrection. The planters were prepared for the reign of terror. They had guns and ammunition and their hirelings murdered the revolting slaves by hundreds, and executed many more after fictitious trials. All blame for the outbreak was laid upon the missionaries. Their chapels were burned and their mission properties laid waste.

William Knibb was arrested and treated with every contumely. Under escort of two slaves, and followed by an officer of the law with drawn sword,

he was conveyed to the guard room, and later to the court-house in charge of four soldiers. He stumbled in approaching the jury-box, and the white sentry pointed his bayonet at him, saying, "Get up instantly, or I will stab you." Being ill at the time and having traveled on foot a long distance, he asked leave to lie down for a few moments. The answer was: "You damned villain, if you stir one inch or speak one word, I will stab you to the heart. You are to be shot at ten o'clock in the morning, and I am very glad of it." In a letter to a friend he declared that "every epithet of abuse that infuriated malice could invent was heaped upon me. The most horrid oaths that men or devils could conceive were poured out upon me, with the most vulgar allusions that depraved nature could imagine. Hell could scarcely be worse."

Finally, after two days of imprisonment, bail was obtained. When he was brought to trial on the general charge of having aided in the insurrection, three hundred witnesses appeared to swear his innocence, while only four could be coerced into testimony against him. Two of these, when the case was called, refused to testify, and they were kicked out of the court-room by one of the officials, who called them "damned Baptist liars," because they would not incriminate an innocent man. For lack of evidence the charge was abandoned, and William Knibb was freed.

But his life was not safe. Time and again angry mobs of white men, incited directly by the planters, attacked his house, destroyed his property, and

threatened his life. Yet he was not only blameless, but his people also were blameless. Out of a church-membership of nine hundred at Falmouth, only three were accused of any guilt. The Christian principles which their pastor had taught them kept the membership of the church from participating in the revolt. His chapels were destroyed, his members scattered, and he himself subjected to every coarse indignity. Between the time of his arrest and the day of his trial he was constantly importuned to escape from the island, and opportunities were provided; but he stedfastly declined to go, though he risked death by remaining.

Although he stayed when there was danger, and when the slave people needed his wisdom and care, he left when leaving meant a colossal opportunity to plead with England for a crushed and helpless population. Now begins the marvelous crusade for human liberty. Now begins "the most strenuous conflict ever waged by a singe individual with a great and influential party." William Knibb goes to England to break the shackles of 200,000 slaves.

The insurrection had failed to secure the expulsion of the missionaries. Neither Jamaica nor England believed for one moment that they were in any way responsible for the uprising. The formidable group of rich planters had failed of their chief end. They were sorely disappointed because no missionaries had been hanged or shot, while only one Baptist minister, Mr. Burchill, had been driven from the island, and he soon returned. So other and more crafty means were adopted in order to drive out religion.

The Colonial Church Union was formed, with the object of getting rid of "the sectarians." The Union favored the High Church clergy, whose historic snobbishness could be relied upon to bow in all things to the will of the slave-owners. As they themselves said openly: "Let us have our own clergy under our own control. Let then the old laws revive; the dissenting missionaries and the low church clergy must be expelled; and the instruction of the slaves in matters of religion must cease forever." The doctrine back of such an attitude was simply this, that if religious instruction of slaves were allowed, slavery would be abolished.

The threat of the insidious propaganda that was now instituted caused the missionaries to come together for conference in March, 1832. As a result William Knibb was commissioned to visit England to plead their cause with the British people. Just before leaving he received credible information that twenty men had banded themselves together by an oath, swearing to put him to death. He barely escaped their clutches.

As the boat on which he journeyed came into the English Channel, the pilot brought the news that the Reform Bill had been passed, through the heroic labors of Bright and Cobden. Hearing such good tidings from the pilot's lips, William Knibb at once exclaimed: "Thank God! Now I'll have slavery down. I will never rest, day nor night, till I see it destroyed, root and branch." These startling words were wondrously prophetic.

On his arrival at Liverpool he hurried at once to

Kettering and thence to London. He found some of the directors of the Mission, mealy-mouthed and timid. Slavery was a political question and had better be let severely alone. Besides this, was not the conversion of sinners a nobler business than the freeing of a lot of ignorant slaves? Had he not better make friends with the planters and thus secure larger privileges in the way of preaching and teaching? It seems strange, but the chief supporters of the Mission resorted to exactly these arguments in seeking to dissuade William Knibb from pursuing the bold course on which he had resolved to embark.

But all England could not dissuade this big genial man, with heart of flame and will of iron. Mr. Burchill, who soon arrived from Jamaica via America, was ready to stand by him. Doctor Price, pastor of the Devonshire Square Baptist Church in London, who was not a member of the Mission Committee, was also willing to fight with him shoulder to shoulder. A few other stalwarts were undismayed by the lions in the way, and promised their support.

First of all Knibb converted the Mission group. Meeting with the Committee in conference he found them filled with caution and empty of courage. He said to them: "Myself, my wife, and my children, are entirely dependent on the Baptist Mission. We have landed without a shilling and may at once be reduced to penury. But if it be necessary, I will take them by the hand and walk barefoot through the kingdom, but I will make known to the Christians of England what their brethren in Jamaica are suffering."

By such words of unequivocal declaration, and by his intrepid bearing, William Knibb completely quelled all opposition and made the officials of the Mission body his enthusiastic friends and supporters. This was his initial victory. The next great effort was to win the rank and file of the people who were behind the Committee. The opportunity was afforded at the annual meeting of the Society in one of the London churches. An immense congregation had gathered. When his time came to speak William Knibb launched out into a magnetic and powerful appeal. He showed how the question of colonial slavery and that of missions had become inseparably connected. British Christians must join with him in breaking the chains of the slave or leave the triumphs of the Redeemer unfinished and abandon the slaves to those whose tenderest mercies were blows and cruelties.

The speaker continued in this fashion: "I plead for liberty to worship God in behalf of 30,000 Christian slaves of the same faith as yourselves, and if the friends of missions will not help me, I hope that the God of missions will. Having in his strength entered on the noble contest, I will never cease to plead for the people I love till, aided by British Christians and by Africa's God, we wave the flag of liberty over departed colonial slavery, shout with melodious harmony its funeral dirge, and proclaim as we leave the spot in which we have entombed the greatest curse that has ever stained the annals of nations, 'Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace, good-will to men.'"

These words may sound to our sophisticated sense rather flamboyant, but they mightily impressed the great assemblage to which they were spoken. We are told that the vast audience received his fiery appeal with ardent sympathy, and testified their concurrence by bursts of loud and long-continued applause. Doctor Campbell, who followed him, declared that "this meeting will be celebrated for hundreds of years to come, as the commencement of a new era in the history of mankind." Thus William Knibb won the devotion of the Baptist public which constituted the membership of the mission society. This was his second great victory.

Beyond this worthy Baptist group lay the British people. Now the grand attack must be planned and carried forward. Soon the program was outlined, and William Knibb began a series of public addresses, extending over the whole of the United Kingdom, and lasting through a period of two years. Such a campaign has never been carried forward, before or since, by any man, in behalf of any great moral and social reform.

We cannot follow his footsteps. We cannot listen to his voice as in all the cities of England and Scotland it thunders forth its anathemas against the savage ills of slavery. We cannot see the excited throngs that heard with interest and eagerness and responded with pledges of unqualified and determined support. The effects of his convincing oratory were unparalleled and almost incredible.

In reporting one of his public meetings in Exeter Hall, London, a published pamphlet says: "To de-

scribe the effect of this speech is impossible. The worthy speaker appeared almost exhausted; and the assembled multitude of Christians expressed their abhorrence of slavery, and appreciation of the sentiments so eloquently delivered, in repeated rounds of deafening applause."

Eustace Carey, a missionary from India, and a nephew of William Carey, accompanied William Knibb on several of his speaking tours. He testifies as follows: "I have witnessed congregated masses burning, and almost raving, with indignation at the slave-system as he depicted its cruelties and demonstrated its crimes. His tact and self-possession became so remarkable that he would easily convert adverse occurrences into an occasion of triumph for his cause." His benevolence and simplicity combined constituted the grand secret of his power. So he won his third great victory in his ever-widening campaign of triumph; the Christian forces of Great Britain had swung into a vast and militant cooperative movement.

The most difficult task lay ahead.

The visit of William Knibb to England is no mere series of harangues by a strong-willed agitator, pleading with throngs of people to demand the abolition of a hateful scourge. His sound knowledge and his strong convictions have come to be respected in high places. So his mission carries him into the very heart of the governmental affairs of the British Empire. He is summoned to appear before the Committees of Parliament on the question of West Indian slavery. For four days he is strictly and

exhaustively examined by the committee of the House of Commons and for three days by the committee of the House of Lords.

He is much more than a good-natured and fun-loving saint, although he is all of this. He is more than a fervid orator swaying great audiences by the tempestuous force of his ardor. He is also a business man of ability, keen and constructive in his thoughts and plans. Of this he has given evidence in his extensive building operations in Jamaica, and in his systematic organization of all departments of his many-sided work. Of this he now gives further proof in a vital fashion. Every argument that a fair-minded scepticism could suggest is brought forward by representatives of the Lords and Commons and by him is quickly answered. He becomes master of the situation.

Although nearly a century has gone by, the full record of the Parliamentary inquiry is still available for study. It was a crucial period in the history of human freedom, so the questions asked and the answers returned are full of interest. The replies were clear, succinct, and to the point. Even when belabored by questions, both relevant and irrelevant, the man kept his head and remained well-poised and alert.

The wisdom and judicious candor of his views made a profound impression. Throughout the whole mass of testimony which he gave, day after day, there was a happy mingling of boldness and courtesy. The accumulation of facts and incidents which he set before the committees was overwhelming in its

significance and value. By his eloquence he persuaded the multitudes; by his wise and well-digested knowledge he persuaded the government.

He went forth from his lengthy examinations by the Committees to continue his campaign amongst the people. All England was aroused to white heat. Slavery must go! Parliament pondered and at last reached conclusions. Besieged by petitions which an awakened and indignant public forced upon their notice, and convinced by the facts and reasonings which William Knibb had laid before them, they finally took decisive action. At the parliamentary session of 1833 a lengthy discussion ended in the passage of that momentous legislative measure, the Act abolishing British colonial slavery. Thus William Knibb won his climacteric victory!

He stayed for another year in England, because a matter of profound importance to the Mission remained unsettled—the question of restitution of the destroyed chapels and other property. In this also he was successful. As a result of his well-organized program of procedure, Parliament agreed to contribute £5,500, and one-half of the remaining balance of £12,390, provided the other half were raised by the Mission Society. The 7th of August was fixed as the day for the raising of this amount by the churches, and the meeting was held in the City of London Tavern. Not only was the required amount obtained on that evening, but also an additional £6,800.

The whole assembly went wild with delight when the announcement was made at the close of the

meeting. "The voluntary principle has done this" cried the Chairman. "It is the grace of God," rejoined the Secretary. And both were right. Had they said, "It has come by the grace of God through William Knibb's devotion, inspiring the willing hearts of the people," they would have told the whole story. It is interesting to notice that a bronze medal was presented to him at the meeting in the London Tavern, commemorating his colossal services to the cause of freedom.

Having accomplished such a piece of work as few individual men have ever accomplished in all the world's history, the missionary statesman returned with his family to Jamaica. The history of the next few years tells of a resolute struggle to secure justice for the slaves whose freedom he had won. The planters had vowed that he should never again be allowed to set foot on the island. Their mortification at his return was in startling contrast to the joy and triumph beyond all power of description that characterized the welcome extended by the people, to whom he was as the sun of their hope and the author of their liberties.

The work of chapel-building and general reconstruction went forward apace. New schools were erected and a general system of education for the island was inaugurated. William Knibb was abundant in labors of every sort. His eminent administrative gifts made him now the recognized leader in various man-making enterprises.

The apprenticeship system had taken the place of chattel-slavery. This system was a cunningly de-

vised substitute for slavery and an abominable infringement of the Abolition Act. By its methods the Negroes were obliged by law to pay for their "apprenticeship" and were also forced to apprentice themselves to the planters. The fees for apprenticeship were made higher than the amounts formerly necessary to buy freedom. As the wages were exceedingly low it took years of hard labor to pay for the apprenticeship, and in the meantime the Negroes were virtually slaves to the will of the masters. Besides this they were treated most brutally; so blood and chains, murderous cells, and the treadmill were the order of the day.

The missionary-emancipator looked upon these subtle evasions of the law with intensifying fury. He was the aroused and uncompromising enemy of oppression in all its forms. With a noble devotion he threw himself into this new conflict. Since justice as well as charity should begin at home he put the matter forcibly to his own congregation. Many of his Negro members had long been free, and had held slaves of their own which they now kept as apprentices. At his urgent appeal every one of these men released his apprentices, though at great personal sacrifice.

Although all persons occupying positions of influence were haters of liberty, who hated also those who were determined to secure full rights for the blacks, the valiant campaigner carried forward his warfare without remission of energy. Aided now by some of the other missionaries, he preached against the apprenticeship system, agitated cease-

lessly against it, pleaded for its abolition before the local House of Assembly, and sent fervent appeals to members of the Home Government in England. He met opprobrium, persecution, threats of murder, with definite attempts to execute those threats, and every kind of vicious persecution. Finally he saw the crowning of his efforts in the passage of an Act of Parliament which decreed the total extinction of the apprenticeship system on August 1, 1838.

It had taken four years of valorous fighting to secure this end. On the day before the Act was to go into effect scenes of exuberant joy took place all over the island, and William Knibb had his great reward. At midnight he stood in the midst of an assemblage composed of many thousand Negroes, and cried out in stentorian tones as he pointed to the clock, "The hour is at hand, the monster is dying." Then, at the last note of the striking clock he cried again: "The monster is dead; the Negro is free!"

Writing about it a few days later he said: "Never did I hear such a sound as followed. The people rose and burst into a loud and long-continued burst of exultation. The winds of freedom appeared to have been let loose. The very building shook at the strange yet sacred joy."

William Knibb lived for seven years longer. Every day and every hour were filled with toil. As he had been the chief instrument in securing emancipation throughout the West Indies so he became the chief benefactor after full freedom was won. He plunged into the consideration of the many social questions, often producing quite complicated moral

problems, involved in the transition from slavery to freedom.

After violent controversy he succeeded in establishing a higher rate of wages for the laboring freedmen. He founded a weekly newspaper to voice the attitude and aims of the people. He brought about the cessation of cheap European immigration by which for a time the planters sought to throw the freedmen into a state of penury. He furthered educational and social reforms in all parts of Jamaica. He united the missionaries of the various denominations in a federation of fellowship and service. He made three more visits to England during those seven years, to enlighten the people of the homeland on various issues, and to secure funds for the broadening of the work. In one of these visits he secured the establishment of a Baptist Mission in Africa.

He was born in Kettering, England. He died of yellow fever at Kettering, Jamaica, on the fifteenth of November, 1845, surrounded by his dear ones. A short time before his death he offered a most beautiful prayer. The word quickly passed from lip to lip amongst his people, " Massa Knibb dead "; and soon the whole region heard the sad tidings. Eight thousand people attended his funeral the next morning, and their grief was uncontrollable. They had lost the best and dearest of friends.

William Knibb was an athlete of noble appearance and vigorous health. Yet he died at forty-two. He was astonishingly active and retained his boyish energy and his youthful tendency to fun and frolic, almost to the last day of his life. He conceived large

schemes and carried them into effect by sheer force of his dauntless will, aided always by his kindly persuasiveness. His courage was indomitable. His power of swaying multitudes of people by his simple eloquence has rarely been equaled. At first he stood almost alone in his struggle against slavery, and he faced overwhelming odds and implacable enemies. Yet he won every fight that he fought.

A friend said of him that " he was a man of incalculable energy and almost superhuman devotedness. Almost! It was entirely superhuman." The ignorant printer's boy became the immortal emancipator. He was one of the greatest men of his age. The secret of his greatness was his childlike humility and his utter consecration to the Lord Jesus Christ, his Saviour.

XVII

FRANCIS WAYLAND

Educator

FRANCIS WAYLAND: 1796–1865

I. The Making of a Great Man:
   1. Boy and man; and human rights.
   2. The father's influence.
   3. Early development; spiritual darkness.
   4. Meeting with Luther Rice; the light dawns.
   5. Theology and Moses Stuart.

II. Rapid Growth in Power:
   1. Tutor at Union College.
   2. Pastor of First Baptist Church, Boston.
      (1) The church and its pastors.
      (2) Wayland's precarious election.
      (3) Five years in Boston:
         a. His preaching.
         b. Criticisms.
         c. Widening influence; editor and organizer.
         d. Two rousing sermons.
      (4) Call to Presidency of Brown University.

III. Mastership of Men and Methods:
   1. Status of the University.
   2. The first year of administration.
   3. The outlook of the educator:
      (1) Constructive teaching; alertness and honesty.
      (2) Devotion to the school and its students.
      (3) Interest in secondary education.
   4. A cosmopolite in education and religion.
   5. Centrality of faith.

IV. Educational Reforms:
   1. Popular text-books.
   2. A journey abroad.
   3. A new educational policy.
      (1) Its principles.
      (2) Its consonance with free ideas.
   4. Resignation; the 28 years of progress.

V. The Remaining Years:
   1. An acting pastorate.
   2. Service in many enterprises.
   3. Last public address; plea for freedom.
   4. The great life ends.

FRANCIS WAYLAND

Educator

"Every man has a right to himself." This phrase embodies an elemental principle of civil and religious liberty. It interpenetrates the positions and teachings of a treatise on ethics that was recognized as the standard text-book on the subject in American high schools, academies, and colleges for a dozen generations of students. That book, which played so large a part in the moral training of multitudes of American youth who became leaders of American life, was *The Elements of Moral Science,* by Dr. Francis Wayland.

A sister of this man once wrote concerning him as a boy:

> Our two younger brothers were mischievous boys, inseparable in all their sports, active, restless, unscrupulous, often wantonly destroying our dolls, playthings, and miniature houses. At such times our oldest brother, Francis, would soothe us and vindicate our rights. He was unlike most boys. He had no organ of destructiveness, and the right of property was sacred with him. Even then he was an authority in morals, and a stanch vindicator of personal rights. The least approach to opposition aroused him.

Thus the future man is mirrored in the child. Of the public discourses of the man it has been said that they were "imbued with a love of freedom, the largest freedom of mind and soul, the liberty that he

never ceased to claim as his own right, and that of every being." His lifelong advocacy of human freedom was grounded, not in high hopes for the results to be wrought by changes in governments, but in faith in the living God, and in the increasing supremacy of the religion of Jesus Christ.

Heredity played its part in the forming of his liberty-loving nature. In the year 1793 a youthful pair of immigrants arrived in New York. Francis Wayland, Senior, the husband, was 21, the wife 19. They had recently been married in London, and their coming to America was largely influenced by the fact that they were stanch dissenters, and had felt keenly the oppressions to which the members of that free faith were still subjected in the old country. They were interested in the politics of this new land, and the husband early united with the Republican rather than with the Federal party, because the Republicans were pledged to unrestricted freedom in matters of religious opinion.

Mr. Wayland was a dresser of leather, and he soon became prosperous, with every promise of earning constantly greater prosperity. However, being deeply religious, he invested his moderate wealth in permanent form, and became a Baptist minister, devoting the rest of his life to the work of preaching. His oldest son, Francis Wayland, Junior, was born in New York City on March 11, 1796.

This son attended a boys' school in John Street and at ten years of age became a pupil at Dutchess County Academy. When he was fifteen he was sufficiently advanced to enter Union College in Schenec-

tady, as a sophomore. Two years later he graduated, and entered upon the study of medicine. During the period of his medical studies a change in his intellectual character took place. From being a superficial reader of many books he became, as he himself expressed it long afterward, "a thinking being, and a citizen in some sort of the republic of letters."

This intellectual regeneration led him to form independent opinions, to judge things from the individual point of view, to appreciate the beauties of literature and to study human nature and social tendencies with the eye of a critic. As a natural result of this change in his mental habits, he began to ponder deeply the matter of religion, especially in relation to the salvation of his own soul. He gave three full days, on one occasion, to a profound consideration of this question, but no light came. No sermons helped him. He was in the dark and groping blindly.

Then, on a memorable day, Rev. Luther Rice came to his father's house. This good man preached several times in the Baptist church. His ardent zeal for the conversion of the world to Christ had an electric effect upon the young medical student. A sermon preached by this man on "The Glorious Gospel of the Blessed God" broke down the barriers, flooded Francis Wayland's soul with light, and led him with joy to devote his life to the service of Jesus Christ.

Soon after this he united with the church. He completed his studies, receiving his license to practise medicine, but almost immediately entered upon

the study of theology at the Andover Seminary. Out of sixty-seven students only two were Baptists. Moses Stuart, one of the professors, renowned in later years as commentator and controversialist, was then a young man of thirty-six, and he exercised a vital influence over the intellectual and religious character of Francis Wayland. Forty years afterward, in speaking at the semi-centennial of the Seminary, he described Stuart as one who possessed an unshaken, elastic, and joyous confidence in the truth as he believed it, and stirred the minds of his hearers like the sound of a trumpet. Adoniram Judson spoke in similarly enthusiastic terms of this great teacher.

In spite of his many inspiring contacts with students and teachers whose faith differed somewhat from his own, he remained a Baptist, and loved always to be known, as he himself expressed it, as "an old-fashioned Baptist." Yet there was nothing of the bigot in his nature. Glorying in the fulness and freedom of his denominational principles, he was nevertheless a liberal-hearted, broad-minded, and catholic Christian.

After one year at Andover he was called to a tutorship in his Alma Mater. He was then only twenty-one years of age, but his quiet dignity and matured powers won for him at once the attention and respect of his students. Owing to vacancies in the small faculty he taught almost everything during his years at Union, geometry and trigonometry, rhetoric and chemistry, Homer and Horace. But his devotion was constant and his mind worked like the crack of a whip. He made progress in every direc-

tion and those who sat under his instruction also moved forward rapidly in harmony with the urge of his active spirit.

After four years as tutor Francis Wayland received a hearty invitation from the First Baptist Church in Boston to preach for them for a few weeks, with a view to the pastorate. The church had been founded in 1665, only three others of the Baptist denomination in America boasting a greater age. It had had a remarkable history. For a period of more than a hundred years after its foundation its members had suffered various sorts of bitter persecution at the hands of the Standing Order. On one occasion their pastor had been imprisoned for his faith. At another time the doors of the church were nailed up, at the order of the General Court.

The church had had distinguished pastors. Dr. Samuel Stillman, who served its interests for forty years, was the most eminent pulpit orator in America. He was succeeded by Joseph Clay, who had resigned a judgeship to enter the ministry, and was a distinguished publicist. The next pastor was James Winchell, a man greatly beloved, whose edition of Watts' hymns was used by churches of the evangelical denominations all over America. After his death at the age of twenty-nine the congregation could not find a man suitable to follow the sainted Winchell, so it had been for five years pastorless.

Francis Wayland was a careful scholar and a successful teacher, but he had never held a pastorate and had preached only occasionally. The Boston people wanted him to supply for eight or ten weeks,

morning and evening, and the man had only eight sermons in his possession. However, he visited Boston, taking his sermons with him. He preached for four Sundays, reading his sermons carefully page by page, and exhausting his supply. Then he decided to return to the college, saying, "If they really want me, they know enough about my preaching now to call me." And they did call him.

His manner in the pulpit was not attractive, and some of the members wanted another man, whose flowery rhetoric had captured them. It required strong efforts to secure a majority of votes for Mr. Wayland. Many of the members did not vote, and the final decision was fifteen to ten in his favor in the church, and seventeen to fifteen in the Society. Professor Stuart urged him to accept, saying that the weight of the church was with him if not the numbers; that his learning and intellectual force were needed in New England; and that if he could bring himself to preach extempore once each Sunday, he would win the crowd.

He began his Boston ministry in August, 1821, was ordained in the First Church during the same month, and continued as pastor for five years. His noble-hearted mother, to whose early instruction and fellowship he always testified with grateful warmth, wrote him that she had kept the day of his ordination with fasting and prayer, "that the Lord would adorn you with all the graces of his Holy Spirit, that you might abound in every good word and work, that you would have many, very many souls given you, that shall be to your everlasting joy."

In his opening sermon as pastor he strongly emphasized two of the sovereign principles of the Baptist faith, the authority of Scripture and the Deity of Christ; and he also insisted upon that precious truth for which Baptists throughout the ages have contended, the freedom of individual interpretation of the Word of God.

The minority voters were on hand to criticize; and there was room for plenty of shallow complaint. We are told that Wayland at that time was tall, extremely thin, angular, ungraceful, that his complexion was sallow, that he spoke with but little action, rarely withdrawing his hands from his pockets save to turn a leaf, and that his eyes were seldom lifted from the written page. Also in conversation he was abstracted and embarrassed, a raw young scholar, more at home with his books than with men. Some of his members went here and there on Sundays, to listen to other preachers. He said in reference to this that "if a phrenologist were to examine my head he would surely find strongly developed the 'organ of scatteration.'"

Francis Wayland was, however, a far better judge of human nature than people imagined. The unfair anonymous letters that he received he spread before the Lord and then burned. The policy, suggested by his supporters, that the church discipline the unruly members, he stoutly opposed. He told his friends that he did not wonder that some people were not satisfied with his sermons; he was far from satisfied with them himself.

He invited the other minister, whom his detractors

were forever praising, to preach for him. The man came and made rather a fool of himself, so his embarrassed upholders ceased to eulogize his gifts. By Francis Wayland's remarkable kindliness of spirit and humanness of attitude he at last won completely all of those who had disparaged him.

His labors were not confined to the local church. He was young and awkward, it is true, but he was a man of powerful intellect and great wisdom. Therefore he entered as a constructive force into large activities. It will aid us in forming an idea of his vigor and resources if we review a few of these interests.

In 1823 he became associated with Doctor Baldwin, the pastor of the Second church, in editing the *American Baptist Magazine*. During his first year of service in that connection he contributed to its pages twenty articles of value, bearing upon the increased efficiency of the denomination and its growth in religious power. In 1824 he was one of the moving spirits in the organization of the Massachusetts Baptist Convention, which took place in his church in Boston. He was not only active in its formation, but did yeoman's service as its first Secretary.

In 1825 he united with others in the establishment of the Newton Theological Institution, the first Baptist school on the American Continent devoted solely to the training of young men for the ministry. It was Francis Wayland, with his fine intellectual equipment and splendid scholastic outlook, who was one of the most prominent initiators of this movement. The organization was formed in the First

FRANCIS WAYLAND

Educator

Church, and he became one of the corporate members of the Board of Trustees and its first Secretary.

It was he also who preached one of the most awakening sermons on foreign missions that has ever been delivered. On a rainy evening in October, 1823, in that famous old First Church in Boston, he spoke to a small audience on "The Moral Dignity of the Missionary Enterprise." It was the annual sermon before the Boston Baptist Foreign Mission Society. It has been said that with the exception of the close of Daniel Webster's reply to Hayne, no passage in American literature has been more often quoted than the paragraphs of this sermon which delineated the conquering march of the church.

The sermon was published, and its reception was astounding. It marked a definite forward step in the history of the missionary enterprise amongst all Protestant denominations. It was circulated by hundreds of thousands and translated into many languages. It is said that that sermon has been more widely circulated than any other that has ever been preached in any pulpit in America. Not only Christians, but men of the world read it with deep interest. Not only evangelical Christians, but those of the so-called liberal churches read it with tearful eyes. Copies of it flooded the colleges and seminaries, and its influence enlisted many volunteers for foreign-missionary work. It aroused the churches to a new and more exalted conception of their responsibility in world-evangelization. It stirred the hearts and consciences of a vast multitude.

Another of his sermons on "The Duties of an

American Citizen" produced similar effects in another department of human thinking. With the masterly force of a Christian statesman he delineated the intellectual and political conditions of the nations of Europe, analyzed the relations of the United States with those nations, and then outlined with convincing earnestness the duties devolving upon the citizens of America in consequence of such relations. A few words from this sermon will indicate its tremendous significance. He had been speaking of the seemingly imminent dangers to civil and religious liberty that were threatening, both without and within the borders of the Republic, and he continued:

> Then will America need the wealth of her merchants, the prowess of her warriors, and the sagacity of her statesmen. Then on the altars of our God, let each one devote himself to the cause of the human race, and in the name of the Lord of Hosts go forth into the battle. If need be, let our choicest blood flow freely, for life itself is valueless when such interests are at stake. Then when a world in arms is assembling to the conflict, may this country be found fighting in the vanguard for the liberties of man. God himself hath summoned her to the contest, and she may not shrink back. For this hour may He by His grace prepare her.

The whole discourse was aflame with an intense love of freedom, the largest possible freedom of intellect and spirit. Such freedom he sturdily claimed for every individual; such freedom he ardently desired in Church and State. He was an all-around democrat. In this early discourse we may discern the pleadings of that master-freeman who in later years

was the fearless advocate of democracy in thought, in education, in the social order, in the church of Christ, in the political affairs of the republic, and in the intercourse of nations and peoples.

In spite of all the unselfish efforts of the pastor, the First Church showed a lack of vigor. Perhaps he was not designed for ordinary ministerial labor. At any rate when an invitation to a full professorship in Union College came to him, he accepted it, and resigned his charge in Boston. But another institution of learning was ambitious for his leadership. He was offered the presidency of Brown University, and in February, 1827, he closed his six months of service at Schenectady and assumed the heavy duties of the presidency in the city of Providence.

Here began his splendid career as an educator. Brown University was founded in 1764. It was the first educational institution to be planted by the Baptists of America. Fifty years later it was still their only school of higher learning. Then came the epoch of awakening. Between 1816 and 1826, seven or eight new colleges and academies were established. When Francis Wayland began his work at Brown, that honored educational foundation was languishing, while the fresher growth of schools was flourishing.

Before he had finished the first year of his administration things began to change. Discipline was restored. The professors became more prompt in the discharge of their duties and were drawn into a much closer fellowship with the students. He conducted his own classes without the use of text-books

and required careful attention to the lectures that he delivered. Mere memory work was abolished. Free discussion in the classroom was encouraged; and the students for the first time were taught to think for themselves. New subjects, having a living interest, were introduced into the curriculum. Quietly yet notably the influence of a directing will of unusual force and energy was felt throughout the entire university life.

Without fuss or parade the ideals of true education were infused into the minds of the more purposeful students, while the idlers were summoned to the President's room and reasoned with in kindly but conclusive fashion. Immediately thereafter they either began to make good in their class requirements, or their sudden absence from the college was noted by their fellows. The processes of elimination and rehabilitation were at work. As with lazy students, so with sleepy professors. At the close of the first year some of these, who had been drawing their salaries and filling easy-chairs, found that they were no longer members of the faculty.

In his intellectual as in his religious life President Wayland was forever testing and exploring, seeking for fundamental principles upon which to build. He went to the root of things. Besides this he possessed that scientific attitude that aims at exhaustive analysis. He dissected and separated in order to assemble and construct. He taught his students to accept no statement or proposition until they had traced its sources and investigated its claims to validity. He would constantly impress upon them

the fact that they had the right and duty to be independent seekers after truth. Hardly less important was his insistence that they should seek to understand thoroughly every subject that they considered. This was the end to be striven after, rather than the mere making of a glib recitation. He would never allow mental stagnation in his neighborhood. His students must think or quit!

President Wayland's own mind was always alert. He was incessantly thinking, and thinking toward results. With a freshness born of invigorating labor his intellect functioned with precision and persistency; it never grew rusty or feeble. He even "brought forth fruit in old age." His eager nature was both productive and progressive. It ranged over wide fields of observation. At Brown as at Union he was obliged to teach various subjects at different times. He was responsive always to the call of conscience, so he wrought to master the details of every department of study and research which he entered. In this way he obtained an ever-deepening and enriching background of knowledge.

Downright earnestness and unswerving honesty were marks of his method on every trail of inquiry that he followed. It was his business to prepare persons for their life-work. Therefore it was incumbent upon him to prepare himself. His task was to broaden and to stimulate other minds. Therefore the process of self-broadening and enthusiastic learning must go forward without ceasing. Since education was now his beloved calling, he must exert himself to the utmost in order to develop in the

highest degree the souls committed to his charge. This was his own clear view of the work that lay before him.

During all of the years of his presidency there was no wavering or faltering in his steady devotion to the high aims that he set before himself. No man ever saw his duty more clearly or followed it more fully. He was peculiarly sensitive to the spirit of Divine guidance. Under God he gave himself to two distinct and controlling ends; he lived for Brown, and he lived for the students of Brown. He was administrator of a University's affairs, so he gave the resources of his manhood to that sacred charge. He was also a molder of human destinies, so he lived for and with his students.

He shirked none of his responsibilities as a Christian educator. He traveled as seldom as possible. He took little physical exercise. He denied himself recreation and entertainment. He was no cosmopolite; yet his keen eye discerned with unerring accuracy the signs of the times, and he was ever abreast of the age in questions of large public import. A marked advance was made by the University during the first five years of his leadership. He pleaded for funds for the library and obtained them. He demanded proper scientific apparatus, and secured it. Through his influence with Nicholas Brown that generous man contributed the money wherewith to build a new and needed building.

Realizing that successful collegiate training depended greatly on sound preparation in the lower schools, he acted as chairman of a committee of

citizens that reorganized the public schools of the city of Providence. Later he laid before the General Assembly of Rhode Island a plan for reorganizing the system of free schools throughout the State, and received the sanction of the legislature to undertake the work, which was done. Sweeping into a wider circle of influence, he became one of the founders of the American Institute of Instruction and its first president, serving for five years with great success in that office. This body performed a valuable service in the interest of higher education in America and throughout the world.

So after all he was a cosmopolite, educationally. And in religion also. Very soon after he became a college President he came to realize that American Christians were deplorably deficient in two most vital matters. They might be unblameable in personal character and morals; they might be irreproachable in the correctness of their theological positions; but they were sadly lacking in their methods of philanthropy and in their estimate of the crucial importance of missionary effort. They contributed twenty cents where they should give $10, and $100 where they should give $10,000; and their ways of conducting both philanthropic and missionary operations were puny, childish, and sometimes idiotic. So he set himself to the gigantic task of teaching them the need for systematic charity on the one hand and organization of religious agencies for world-wide evangelization on the other.

Within the dozen years that followed this discovery of woeful lack and this determination to improve

conditions, his labors were tireless and rewardful. In the Rhode Island Tract and School Society, in the Children's Friend Society, in the State Bible Society, in the Providence Dispensary, in the Sunday School Union, in his zeal for the promotion of missionary information and his official relations to the Foreign Missionary Society, he caused his great personal influence to be felt. When we consider the indefatigable labors, both public and personal, that he was constantly performing for the University and for its student group, the intense sympathy and abundant service that he gave to these additional undertakings excite our wonder.

It must be added, for it goes far to explain his resourcefulness and the nobility of his achievements, that he maintained at all costs and under all conditions, his profound and simple faith in the Lord Jesus Christ. This faith was central. He could do all things through Christ who strengthened him. His Diary reveals the fact that he entered upon no enterprise whatsoever, attempted no task, sought the solution of no problem, without submitting the matter to the Father in heaven and receiving the guidance of the Holy Spirit.

Year by year he had been teaching successive groups of young students. To their impressionable minds he had been bringing treasures of knowledge. By contact with them and through mature and critical reflection upon his own work, he had gradually enlarged, altered, and revised his classroom lectures. Then he proceeded to publication. In 1835 his *Moral Science* appeared, and in 1837 his *Political Science.*

The popular influence of these two volumes can hardly be overestimated. They were not sensational novels. A casual judgment, based upon their titles and without study of their pages, would pronounce them dry-as-dust text-books on subjects deadly dull. Yet the unbelievable fact stands forth in its blunt reality, that more than 200,000 copies of these two books in their unabridged or abridged editions, were published and circulated.

More than 150,000 copies of the *Moral Science* were issued. The teachings of the book, so admirably expressed, so crystal clear in their significance, so weighted with the authority of Divine revelation, took hold upon the minds and hearts of untold multitudes of youth in American educational institutions. It was the outstanding book of its generation. It remains today the most important and by far the most influential volume, within the realm of morals, ever published on this continent.

The author had just completed his thirty-ninth year and was in the very prime of his splendid powers of intellect and heart. The spirit in which this illustrious man conceived and completed this famous work may be seen by an entry in his Diary, as the first copies came from the press:

> I have endeavored to make known the ways of God to man. Lord God of Hosts, I commend to thee, through Jesus Christ Thy Son, this work. May it promote the cause of truth, of peace, and of righteousness. I lay it before Thee and cast it at Thy feet. I humbly pray that Thy good Spirit may cause whatever is true in it, to be believed, received and practised, and whatever is false to be discovered, refuted and confounded, so that it may do good and no harm to thy cause. . .

If it should please Thee, for Thy Son's sake, to condescend thus to use me, make me humble and grateful, and let me give all the glory to Thy holy name.

The first part of the book is occupied with theoretical ethics; the second, established firmly upon the principles elucidated in the earlier portion, is devoted to the discussion of practical ethics. At the very commencement of his practical ethics the author affirms that "every separate individual is created with precisely the same right to use the advantages with which God has endowed him as every other individual. This proposition seems to me in its nature so self-evident as almost to preclude the possibility of argument. The truth that EVERY MAN HAS A RIGHT TO HIMSELF can hardly be rendered more evident by argument. It is of the nature of a moral axiom."

The entire remainder of the book is inwrought with this weighty truth, whose democratic implications are apparent. In sentences as limpid as a mountain stream, yet dominated by the power of great convictions and illumined by the spirit of an irresistible logic, the author discusses such questions of practical morals as the right of property and the principle of veracity, the duties of parents and of citizens, the right and dignity of personal liberty and of religious liberty. The judgment of the thinking world has long ago pronounced this work a masterpiece in the realm of morals.

After the passage of a dozen crowded years President Wayland took his first real vacation. He spent about eight months abroad. Though in ill-health

during most of the time his eyes were open, his mind alert and receptive. In England and Scotland he was shown many courtesies, and was entertained by the Royal Society and various other learned bodies. He met many famous scientists, educators, and religious leaders such as Sedgwick, Lyell, Whewell, Babbage, Abercrombie, Sir William Hamilton, Thomas Chalmers, Lord Murray, Henry Hallam, and Dr. Thomas Arnold.

Perhaps his happiest experience, and that which lingered longest in his memory, was his meeting with John Foster, the celebrated essayist and Baptist pastor. At the time of the latter's death, two years later, Doctor Wayland wrote to his friend, Doctor Holey of Birmingham: "The last great Baptist light on earth is extinguished. The greatest man in our Israel is fallen. I do not think that you have lost so fine a mind in England since Canning." He then compares Foster with Southey the poet and Robert Hall the matchless Baptist preacher, and adds: "But none of them approaches the massive cubic sense of Foster. He drives his weapon to the hilt at every blow."

President Wayland rejoiced to be at home again. In the course of his journey he had written that he sometimes heard his countrymen lament that they had no monuments or palaces like those in Europe. He shared no such lamentations. To him the words of God were dearer than any gilded domes and lofty columns reared by man. He then expressed his passionate love for America, for her cities, but more for the fields, the woods, the rivers, the waterfalls, the

clear blue sky, the interminable horizon. " But more, far more, I love her universal education, her spiritual liberty and her religious observances, the perfect freedom with which mind is suffered to develop, and the means afforded to foster that development." Such words attest a full and radiant patriotism.

At the Commencement of 1849 Doctor Wayland presented to the Corporation his resignation of the presidency. He was only fifty-three years of age, and he filled an eminent place in the educational work of the country. The members of the governing body urged the withdrawal of his resignation, and he agreed to their request on condition that they would support his plan for a reorganization of the University. To this they in their turn willingly consented.

The new policy which he outlined for their adoption, and which was put into effect, embodied radical changes. These had already been suggested by him in a little book entitled *Thoughts on the Present Collegiate System in the United States,* which he had published some seven years before. He emphasized the fact that a fatal tendency induced educators, in the forming of schemes of cultural training, blindly to follow precedents, without examining the laws on which they are founded or the results which they have attained. The nineteenth-century college sought to imitate the college of the thirteenth century. The American college, whether situated amid the learned leisure of old New England society, or among the farmers of Illinois, or the miners of California, patterned its policies on the educational type

of Oxford and Cambridge. Thus freedom of action was stifled and freedom of thought inhibited.

A disproportionate amount of time was given to the classics. Even the introduction of many new subjects of study did not help the case. The student was still compelled to give prolonged attention to the classics and mathematics, but now he was also forced to follow these other subjects. The result was superficiality and bewilderment. Four major changes were therefore advocated. They were revolutionary and awakening. They were destined to be vital and formative in the history of American education.

The arbitrary four-year term of collegiate study should be abolished. Students should be allowed a measure of personal choice in the selection of studies that they desired to pursue. Every subject should be taught thoroughly and exhaustively. New departments, formed in accordance with the swift advance of science and the practical needs of the productive classes, should be introduced.

These changes seem to us of today quite sensible, needful, and wise. But they sounded startling and almost anarchistic to the ears of the earlier generation. As they were carried into effect at Brown University during the years that immediately followed their adoption they proved effective. During the next few years the number of students greatly increased. The prediction that under the new system students would choose the easier subjects and courses was triumphantly disproved. The opportunities now given for the extended pursuit of scientific subjects drew to the institution many virile and

promising young men who would have been repelled by the ancient and rigid classical course.

Nowhere did the great President exemplify more fully the original and prophetic character of his thinking than in this system which he so carefully devised, and so thoroughly tested. The chief features of his plan are now embodied in the policy of practically all of our leading American universities, but he was the adventurous pioneer. He may rightly be styled the father of the elective system in American educational life.

The plan was perfectly in accord with its author's ideas of freedom. He contended that the many should not be obliged to engage in blind labor for the benefit of the few, while the few, living on the labor of others, built up for themselves a selfish culture, and an intellectual superiority. Science must be carried into the workshop. The college should be opened to those who sought to be more skilful in mechanics and industry as well as to those who would be clergymen, lawyers, and men at ease.

The chief underlying aim of this educational pioneer is expressed in the pregnant question: "In a new country like our own, unembarrassed by precedents, and not yet entangled by the vested rights of by-gone ages, ought we not to originate a system of education which shall raise to high intellectual culture the whole mass of our people?" Believing as he did, Francis Wayland was too daring a spirit to falter when the chance was given to exemplify his faith by his works. In spite of opposition within the faculty and severe criticism on the part of many

scholars and educationalists, he made a definite and triumphant exhibition of his principles, during the last five years of his presidency.

In 1855 he again presented his resignation, this time insisting upon its acceptance. During the twenty-eight years of his administration the number of professors had nearly trebled and the enrolment of students had increased more than two hundred per cent.; three new buildings had been built, and adjoining properties purchased, and the endowment had grown from $30,000 to $156,000. Above all, the institution had become the most democratic and progressive college in the Northern States. At the imposing ceremonies which honored the conclusion of his great achievements in the presidency, he closed his reply to the address of appreciation with the words: "Whatever knowledge I have of men or mind I have gained from the New Testament of the Lord Jesus Christ. Study the Bible if you would be wise. Count it your highest honor to be useful to your fellow men."

After two years, which he spent in writing and study, and in intimate contact with denominational and civic affairs, he was called to the acting pastorate of the First Baptist Church in Providence. He was offered the sum of $25 a week for his services. In order to aid the church until a permanent minister should be called, he graciously accepted the invitation and carried forward the duties of the pastorate for more than a year. He not only preached; he gave himself without stint to the people and adorned his high calling by establishing the

church upon a strong and enduring basis of spiritual power. His sermons were fervent and evangelistic. The members testified that he had served them with extraordinary fidelity and one of them said, "His labors were arduous beyond the power of expression."

There remained to him seven years of life. These were filled with a many-sided service to friends and former students, to the denomination that he loved with a peculiar affection, to the cause of missions, to the interests of education, and to the welfare of the State and Nation. He also wrote and published two books, revised his *Moral Science*, and published many tracts and magazine articles. They were years filled with happiness and beauty. The only drawback to his enjoyment of this quiet evening of life was the outbreak and progress of the war for the abolition of slavery. He was an intense and unqualified foe of every form of oppression and his utterances on the stormy question rang through the Union like the clarion tones of an old-time prophet.

The last address that he ever delivered was made from a platform erected at the corner of his house to an assembly of 1,500 people. It was the day after the assassination of President Lincoln. In the pouring rain the crowds stood and listened with almost breathless attention. The noble figure of the old man seemed to be clothed with more than earthly majesty. The voice was as strong as of old, and electric with the energy of aroused passion.

He indulged in a loving eulogy of the fallen chieftain and then, in words of eloquent challenge, urged

his hearers to devout thanksgiving for the newborn blessings of peace and full emancipation from the horrors of slavery, and exhorted them to a holy trust and a sublime faith in the heroic days of freedom and progress that lay before them. It was the farewell benediction of a veteran warrior in the lists of truth and liberty, and it fell like manna upon their hungry and grieving hearts.

A few weeks later, on the last day of September, 1865, the spirit of Francis Wayland returned to God. In his last words to the citizens of Providence he had bade them keep the faith. With what unfailing and victorious loyalty had he himself kept the faith! He was in all things true to truth; he was "a freeman whom the truth made free."

In the impact of his rich and productive life upon the life of his time and upon the formative life of the nation's youth, in one of the most critical periods in the development of the American people, Francis Wayland's character and influence were unique and unrivaled.

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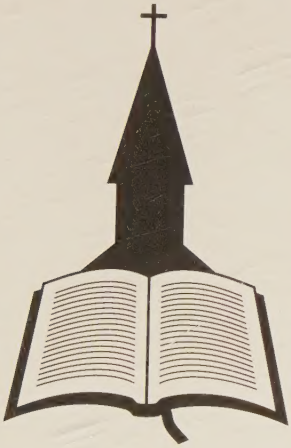

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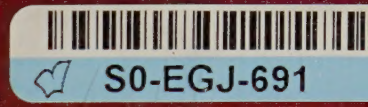
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